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UNIVERSITY OF IOWA MONOGRAPHS

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

F. E. HAYNES, PH. D., EDITOR

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NUMBER 3

THE IOWA PLAN FOR THE COMBINATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELIEF

BY

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L.C.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Iowa plan for the combination of public and private relief has grown out of the conditions and needs of the state. The fact that the situation in Iowa is typical of that of all the states of the middle west makes its experience of especial interest throughout that entire section.

Furthermore, the constant extension of the activity of government along social lines makes it evident that more and more dependence will be placed upon public authorities in dealing with social problems. Such a development means a fuller recognition of the responsibility of government for social welfare. Private charity can never meet the need completely and satisfactorily. There must be a combination of public and private activities to accomplish the best results.

The Iowa plan is not entirely original with that state, but has appeared occasionally in other places, although it has usually been temporary in character and dependent upon some combination of circumstances and of persons. In Iowa it has now been tested long enough to justify the belief that it is something more than an interesting experiment, and that it may be regarded as offering a plan which will meet the growing social needs in American states, especially so far as they are concerned with the constructive social work. The plan provides a central organization around which may group themselves the social activities of very different communities. It makes possible the trained worker in the small town, while it may readily be adapted to the needs of the large city.

Miss McClenahan, the author of the monograph, has been the leader in the state in the wider use of the Iowa plan. In

the larger number of instances where it has been adopted, she has made the preliminary survey in connection with her work for the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa.

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THE IOWA PLAN FOR THE COMBINATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELIEF

I

INTRODUCTION

When considering social problems, the custom has prevailed to connect them especially with the large eastern cities. Consequently few people yet realize that the middle west, especially the Mississippi Valley, has its own problems, peculiar to the region and different from those of the great city, but equally important to the state, and vital to the individual. Since the Men and Religion Forward Movement, there has been great interest awakened in Iowa for social service. People are anxious to do something that will result in definite benefit to their neighbors or their towns. They have not always been clear as to what they wanted to do, or what they could do, and the result has been considerable confusion of thought, plan, and action, largely because there is a lack of acquaintance with the legal provisions which Iowa has made to care for its poor and dependent people.

Conditions in this state are different from the more populous east, since Iowa is primarily an agricultural state, and ranks high in wealth as a farming center. The census for 1915 shows the total population to be 2,358,066.¹ Almost eighty-eight per cent, or approximately nine-tenths, are native born; 2,093,897 being native born and only 264,169 being foreign born.² Only seven of the ninety-nine counties have a population of over 50,000. These are Polk, 129,121; Woodbury, 82,315; Linn, 70,153; Scott, 65,645; Dubuque, 60,975; Pottawatomie, 56,896; and Black Hawk, 53,469.³ In 1915, more than fifty-four per

cent of the entire population of the state resided in 893 incorporated cities and towns. Or to express it conversely, about forty-six per cent of the population may be considered rural.⁴ Only fifteen cities have a population of more than 15,000. There are ninety communities of from 2,000 to 15,000 population and 788 of fewer than 2,000 persons.⁵ Statistics for 1915 show two cities of more than 50,000—Des Moines with 105,652 and Sioux City with 61,774.⁶

Since in Iowa there are few congested quarters, education is easy to obtain, and throughout the state a spirit of neighborliness is manifested, the chief problem may be described as that of the social adjustment of the community. By this is meant the securing of a harmonious working relationship of all social agencies and organized groups, including public officials, churches, schools, clubs, lodges, benevolent associations and business men's organizations. For example, in one Iowa town of 5,000 population were discovered no fewer than 189 voluntary groups, including churches, organized Sunday schools, and Sunday school classes organized on a club basis, fraternal organizations, such as lodges, and clubs for social, religious, and study purposes. To secure the social adjustment of the community is not a simple task since the problem has arisen, not so much on account of bad local conditions as because of duplication of social effort, of ignorance of local social resources, and of possible social programs. The problem is thus one of organization and administration rather than of the creation of new social machinery. To solve it, the local situation must be studied systematically and scientifically, a definite social program for the community worked out, and an efficient administration provided.

II

PROVISIONS OF THE LAW GOVERNING PUBLIC RELIEF

OUTDOOR RELIEF

In the laws of the state the provisions concerning the support of the poor are given in the code under "Title XII," which deals with "The Police of the State." The "poor" and "poor person" are defined as those "who have no property, exempt or otherwise, and are unable on account of mental or physical disabilities to earn a living by labor." However, it is also stated that aid is not forbidden for needy persons having some means when the board of supervisors decides that such relief is necessary for their welfare and the best interests of the public.⁸

Effort is made to safeguard the funds for caring for the poor, and the law explicitly states that the father, mother, and children of any poor person shall be responsible for his or her maintenance;⁹ that in the absence or inability of nearer relatives the liability shall extend to grandparents, if they have means other than those secured by personal labor, and to male grandchildren by personal labor or otherwise.¹⁰ If the relatives specified fail to provide maintenance, resort may be had to the district court for an order to compel such maintenance.¹¹

Eligibility for receiving relief is closely connected with the poor person's place of residence.¹² The provisions for acquiring residence are as follows:

1. A person who has attained majority and residing in the state one year without being warned to leave the county obtains residence in the county where he lives.¹³

2. A married woman has the residence of her husband if he has one within the state. If she had a residence at the time of her marriage, she does not lose it because of her marriage.¹⁴

3. A married woman abandoned by her husband may acquire residence as if she were unmarried.¹⁵

4. Children have the residence of their father, if he has one, and, if he has none, that of the mother.¹⁶

5. Illegitimate children have the residence of their mother. If she has none, that of their putative father.¹⁷

6. A minor whose parent has no residence in the state and a married woman who lives apart from her husband and has no residence and whose husband has no residence, obtains a residence by living one year in a county.¹⁸

7. A minor apprentice, immediately upon being bound, has the residence of his master.¹⁹

The inference is that legal residence is dependent upon a year's continuous living in a county. If a person coming from another state applies for relief and does not have a residence in Iowa, he may be sent to the state from which he came, at the expense of the county under an order of the district court or judge; but he may be temporarily relieved in the county where he applies.²⁰ Persons who come from another state or another county of Iowa and who are believed likely to become county charges, may be prevented from acquiring residence by being served with a notice to depart from the county. After such a warning has been given, residence cannot be acquired except by living in the county for a period of one year from the date of service. The person may be prevented from acquiring residence by having a notice served each year.²¹ The warning is served on order of the township trustees or of the board of supervisors.²²

The matter of residence has often been a source of contention. When relief is granted by the county to a poor person having residence in another county, the auditor of the first county is expected to notify by mail immediately the auditor of the county in which the individual has residence. Within fifteen days after receiving notice, this auditor must inform the auditor of the county which granted the relief whether or not residence is disputed. If it is not, the poor person, if able, may be removed to the county of his residence, or, upon request of the auditor or board of supervisors of that county, he may be maintained where he is at the expense of the county of residence without affecting his local residence.²³ If the residence is disputed, the matter is referred to the district court for settlement. The county in which residence has been established is liable to the county giving the relief for all expenses incurred in the relief

and care of a poor person, and for charges of removal and expense of support incurred after notice is given.²⁴

County boards of supervisors are charged with providing funds for the care of the poor.²⁵ The expense of supporting the poor is paid out of the county treasury, and in case the ordinary revenue of the county does not provide sufficient funds for the support of the poor, the board may levy a poor tax not exceeding two mills on the dollar.²⁶

Township trustees act as overseers of the poor for their respective townships. The poor must make application for relief to them, and they may afford relief at public expense subject to the approval of the board of supervisors. The trustees must report to the board of supervisors, who may continue or deny relief. All bills incurred by the township trustees for the support of the poor are examined by the board of supervisors, and, if the amounts seem unreasonable or exorbitant for goods or services, the supervisors may reject or diminish the claim.²⁷ If any poor person is refused the relief asked for by the trustees, he may apply to the board of supervisors. If the board is satisfied that the poor person should have relief, the board may direct the trustees to give it.²⁸

When a city is embraced in whole or in part within the limits of a township, the board of supervisors may appoint an overseer of the poor, who shall have within the city or part thereof, all the powers and duties given to township trustees. Relief may consist of food, rent or clothing, fuel and lights, medical attendance or money, and shall not exceed two dollars a week for each person, exclusive of medical attendance.

Any able-bodied person may be required to work on the street or highways at the prevailing local rate²⁹ in payment for and as a condition of receiving relief.³⁰ Permission is given by law to the board to pay an annual allowance to a poor person of mature years and sound mind who is likely to become a county charge. This allowance, however, must not exceed the cost of maintenance in the ordinary way.³¹

The General Assembly of 1913 passed a law which is commonly referred to as the "widows' pension law." It provided financial aid for widowed mothers. The section dealing with

this provision for relief is a part of the juvenile court statutes.³² If the juvenile court finds that any child is dependent or neglected,³³ and, that the mother and widow is poor and unable to care for the child, but is otherwise a proper guardian, and that the child's welfare is best promoted by remaining at home, the court may grant for the care of each child under sixteen a sum not to exceed two dollars a week. The allowance granted shall cease upon the child's attaining the age of sixteen. After the allowance has been granted by the court, it is the duty of the county board of supervisors through the overseer of the poor or otherwise to pay the amount specified. Any mother whose husband is an inmate of an institution under the state board of control shall, for the purpose of the law, be considered a widow, but only while her husband is so confined.³⁴

There is another form of county relief which is not popularly so considered and with which a great many citizens are not acquainted. This is soldiers' relief. A tax of one mill on the dollar or less, as needed, may be levied by the board of supervisors to create a fund for the relief, and to pay the funeral expense of honorably discharged indigent United States soldiers, sailors, and marines, and their indigent wives, widows, and minor children not over fourteen, if boys, nor over sixteen, if girls, who have a legal residence in the county.³⁵ Markers for the graves of the soldiers may also be provided.³⁶ This fund is dispensed by the soldiers' relief commission which consists of three persons, two of whom must be honorably discharged Union soldiers, sailors, or marines. These commissioners are appointed by the board of supervisors and hold office for three years.³⁷

In 1915, the legislature passed a law providing for county aid for the blind, popularly called "blind pensions." All men over twenty-one, and all women over eighteen who are found to be blind by the examiner of the blind (a regular practicing physician appointed by the board of supervisors) may, at the discretion of the board of supervisors, receive one hundred and fifty dollars per year, paid quarterly. The applicant must go before the county clerk, and make affidavit that he or she is eligible for aid to the blind. This must be accompanied by affidavits of two citizens stating that they have known the appli-

cant to be a resident of the state for five years, and of the county for one year preceding application.³⁸

The same year the legislature passed what is known as the "Perkins law" which provides for medical and surgical treatment for indigent children at the hospital of the State University at Iowa City, the expense for such care being paid by the state. However, the cost for an attendant to take the child to or from the hospital, or for a person to investigate the complaint (when the person is other than parent, relative, or officer receiving a fixed salary), is paid by the board of supervisors out of county funds collected for the relief of the poor.³⁹

INDOOR RELIEF

Indoor relief is care provided in institutions. The board of supervisors of each county is authorized to establish a county home whenever it is deemed advisable, and to purchase land necessary for its use.⁴⁰ The county home is administered by a steward appointed by the board of supervisors.⁴¹ Any person may be received who has a written order from a township trustee or a member of the board of supervisors.⁴² When inmates of the county home become able to support themselves, the board of supervisors must order their discharge.⁴³ Persons admitted to the county home may be required to perform such reasonable labor as their age and bodily strength permit.⁴⁴ Poor children when cared for at the county home shall attend the district school, and the county shall pay the school district for the children in attendance.⁴⁵

The law provides that a city of the first class⁴⁶ and a special charter city⁴⁷ may establish an infirmary for the dependent poor and may raise funds for the distribution of outdoor relief. So far as is known, this law has not been taken advantage of in Iowa.

County wards are cared for in the different state institutions, each county paying a per capita monthly charge for its residents.⁴⁸ Inmates of these institutions who do not have any county residence are considered "state charges," and their per capita cost is paid by the state.⁴⁹

The per capita cost is as follows:

Cherokee State Hospital	\$17.00 a month
Clarinda State Hospital	16.00
Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Davenport,	
for indigent children	7.50
for soldiers' children, entire cost is borne by the state....	15.00
Independence State Hospital	17.00
State Hospital for Inebriates, Knoxville	15.00
Mt. Pleasant State Hospital	16.00
State Sanitorium, Oakdale	45.00
State Hospital and Colony for Epileptics, Woodward.....	15.00

In addition to these costs, the counties are obliged to pay for the clothing and transportation for students of the School for the Deaf* at Council Bluffs, and for the inmates of the Institution for Feeble-minded Children at Glenwood.⁵⁰ The state provides all the expenses of students at the College for the Blind,* located at Vinton, except clothing which may be charged to the county of residence.⁵¹ All blind persons residents of the state of suitable age and capacity are entitled to an education at this institution at the expense of the state. Non-residents, if they can be accommodated, may attend upon payment of sixty-six dollars quarterly in advance.⁵²

*The School for Deaf and the College for the Blind have both been transferred from the State Board of Control to the State Board of Education.

III

ADMINISTRATION IN POLK COUNTY

As an indication of the situation in other counties, though it must be kept in mind that they are not duplicates of Polk County, the poor law will be outlined as administered in this county. Polk County is chosen because it is the largest in population; has developed all the provisions of the law; has clung to the literal interpretation of the law; and so presents the most complete operation of the poor law. In addition, the writer is especially familiar with Polk County because of having worked in coöperation with the county authorities for four years. The facts are given frankly, in order to make clear the different factors which have determined the character of the relief administration. It should also be stated that the criticism is directed at the machinery and not at the agents of the law. The latter are many times handicapped by conditions over which they have no control, and which they would improve were it in their power.

Polk County contains Des Moines, the largest city in the state. Des Moines is not distinctively a manufacturing city, though it has numerous factories. The population of the county is 129,121 and of Des Moines, 105,652.⁵³ Outside of Des Moines, farming interests dominate. In Des Moines are many professional people, attorneys, physicians, business men and teachers. Trade unions are well developed, but there are also many common or unskilled laborers, and near the city are numerous coal-mining camps. Wages for skilled labor are good, salaries are comparatively high, and the county exhibits a considerable degree of prosperity.

In outlining the situation in Polk County the discussion will be largely confined to county relief as administered in the county seat, Des Moines. The necessity for relief exists principally among the less efficient and unskilled laborers. Their wages are low, averaging about twelve dollars a week, and their house

rent averages about ten dollars a month.⁵⁴ They are dependent for their employment largely upon the building trades, and thus are the first to be discharged in the fall and the last to be employed in the spring. They are the marginal men economically, and sickness, misfortune, or unemployment soon forces them across the poverty line from independence to dependence. In addition to the resident families who apply for relief are the transients or "floaters" from all parts of the state or from neighboring states, who are attracted to Des Moines not only because it is a large city, easy of access by railroad, but because it is a convenient stopping-off place between Omaha and Chicago. This element is difficult to deal with and complicates the problem of efficient relief administration.

In considering county relief as provided through taxation, one of the first things to be noted is that the county poor relief is called the "pauper fund,"⁵⁵ and that every recipient of county aid is thereby branded a "pauper."⁵⁶ This fact has sometimes even been naively explained to the applicant. The term is a relic from earlier days, and one that ought long since to have been discarded, because of the social stigma it is apt to place upon the self-respecting poor man forced to apply for assistance.

OUTDOOR RELIEF

Outdoor relief is that given in the homes of the poor of the county. The provision for outdoor relief as already stated, is comprehensive. The county board of supervisors is responsible for the tax levy and all expenditures, and appoints for Des Moines, the county seat, an overseer of the poor who deals with those applicants who live within the city limits. The overseer decides what is to be done for these people. The board may overrule him but practically never does. The board, or the chairman of the pauper committee, which is a committee of three supervisors to look after the interests of paupers and insane, may suggest or recommend certain action, and the overseer usually does as is suggested. Commissary supplies of good quality which are purchased wholesale, are kept in the store room at the court house and dispensed weekly by the overseer.

The amount has usually been limited to two dollars a week, at wholesale prices, for the ordinary sized family. In cases where necessary the county pays four dollars a month rent, and occasionally eight or ten dollars a month. One ton of coal a month is the usual allowance. The county also provides medical aid in the homes.

County relief is limited to those families who have lived at least one year continuously in the county, preceeding their application for aid. Transportation is granted to non-residents to their homes, or to residents in case they can show they have relatives to care for them at their destination, or some other prospect of caring for themselves, and also when it is evident that the local county will be relieved of a dependent. Clothing is seldom purchased by the overseer of the poor because there are a number of privately supported societies which supply it. County burial, for both resident and non-resident poor, provides a grave in the single range, each grave numbered and the burial recorded, a decent casket, shroud, and ambulance to convey the casket to the cemetery.

The matter of residence is a determining factor in securing relief. The usual practice of the overseer of the poor for Des Moines is not to relieve non-residents in their homes. Occasionally dependent non-residents are sent to the county home. If non-residents are committed to any state institution from Polk County, three methods are followed: (a) if residence cannot be located, the patients are sent as state charges and the state pays for their care. This method is limited to patients sent to hospitals for the insane; (b) in the case of patients sent to the hospital for inebriates, the county from which they are sent pays the bill whether the inebriates are residents or not; (c) if non-residents are adjudged insane, and their residence can be located in the state, the patients are sent as patients from their county of residence, if residence is acknowledged; or they may be sent to the county seat for the local authorities of their county of residence to make the disposition.

Polk County also makes an effort to collect from the different counties money that has been spent for the care of their residents. Collection of these sums is not always successful, some-

times because the county to which the bill is sent disclaims the county's liability on the ground that the individual or family does not have residence there, or because notice was not sent to the county auditor, and so liability was not acknowledged and the expenditure guaranteed.

While the law provides that notice to leave the county may be served on an individual or family likely to become dependent, thus preventing the acquiring of residence within a year after such notice is served, and even preventing it after the first year by serving notice each year, the practice in Polk County is to serve only the first notice. However, it should be noted that an individual or a family cannot be forced to leave the county. Their going is a voluntary matter; if they decide to go, the county will usually pay transportation, but if they stay, the county usually refuses county aid, at least until after the first year has expired.

An interesting example of the attitude of the county in the matter of residence is shown in the following history:⁵⁷

In October, 1912, a husband, his wife, and three children moved to Des Moines from Kansas City, coming at the suggestion of the man's parents. The family had previously lived in Des Moines, but had been away about five years, and had consequently lost residence. The husband had paresis and was developing insanity. For a while the family lived with the parents. But the house was not large enough for two families, and a month's rent was paid for a four room cottage, and the son's family moved. Now said the mother, "Let some one else take care of my son and his family." The son's wife applied for county aid and was refused. The mother, in spite of the fact that she had two unmarried sons both of whom were working and living with her, refused to help the dependent family. As a result private relief societies and interested individuals bore the burden. A notice to leave the county was served, but the wife refused to consider returning to Kansas City. The husband became worse and was committed to one of the state hospitals as a state charge. The wife then made application for a widow's pension, but was refused on the basis of non-residence. At length private aid was discontinued, but the offer of a home for

the children in an orphanage was made. Then the mother who was responsible for the removal to Des Moines, and who had calmly unloaded the burden of their support on the community, came forward, and the family once more moved into her home. In May, 1914, application was again made for a widow's pension, and the judge granted twelve dollars a month.⁵⁸

The law provides that the county can give employment to the needy poor, but this has never been made effective to the writer's knowledge.⁵⁹ The law states than any able-bodied person may be required to labor faithfully on the streets or highways at the prevailing local rate in payment for and as a condition of granting relief, said labor to be under the direction of the officers having charge of working the streets and highways.⁶⁰ During the winters of 1912-1913 and 1913-1914, many families, in which there were able-bodied men, were relieved by the overseer of the poor because the men could not get work. The weather was severe, and the county was forced to give aid to prevent suffering. This would have been a good time to make use of the law, but no effort was made to do so. Here is an instance of waste due to failure to link the different departments of county work, and so make the whole system effective.⁶¹ In Des Moines the city authorities tried to relieve unemployment by giving a limited number of hours of work on the streets to many men instead of regular work to a few, but the plan was short-lived.

In deciding what should be done for a family the primary consideration of the county authorities often is not what is best but what is cheapest. Is it cheaper to buy transportation and send out of the county and state people who are sick, or provide for them adequately at home? Is it cheaper to break up a home temporarily by sending the father to the county hospital, and the children to the detention home, leaving the mother to shift for herself, or give a small amount of weekly aid to keep the home together? Is it cheaper to separate an old couple who have lived together half a century, and send them to the county home, or provide for them where they can be together?

The question of the transportation of indigent people arises in this connection. Formerly it was quite customary in almost all parts of the country to buy railroad tickets and to send de-

pendents from one county seat to the next. It seemed the cheapest way, and it was decidedly the easiest, but in the end it proved to be expensive. It developed a horde of wandering beggars, who were quite content to travel at the expense of the different counties. Frequently applicants at the office of the Associated Charities in Des Moines have told of their wide travels, made without a cent of expense to themselves. Of course it is not fair to the community, to the tax-payer, or to these wanderers themselves. This practice of "shipping on" is still followed in a great many communities. It does not need to be emphasized that it is a wasteful and extravagant method. Many communities, through their officers, have become signers of the transportation code, thereby agreeing that they will not provide transportation for anyone until they have communicated with the desired destination, and have learned that the individual or family has relatives there, or will be cared for. While not a signer of the transportation code, Polk County is usually careful in issuing transportation, and some evidence must be produced giving good reasons for the purchase of a ticket by the county.

In a study made by the Associated Charities of Des Moines, it is interesting to note that in the year 1912 about one sixth of the applicants were single men and women, who were for the most part homeless and transient.⁶² The society has had more success in dealing with single women than with single men. The woman is usually not quite so imbued with the spirit of wandering, and for that reason is more amenable to some plan for a steady future. Little success is reported with the transient man. Time, money, and effort have been spent on some who promised to become desirable citizens, but the efforts have failed usually just when the men were in a position to become independent.

Investigations of the needs of applicants for relief are not always thorough and close acquaintance with changing conditions of the family is not always cultivated. For instance, one family had been receiving aid for several years because the father was thought to be suffering from tuberculosis. Quite by accident, it was discovered that both husband and wife were working, and earning together about eighty dollars a month.

The wife explained that she thought the county supplies were "just so much to the good," and that it had enabled them to save more. If this man had been under the constant oversight of the county physician and the visiting nurse, and required to report regularly for examination, the overseer would have been conversant with the family's ability to take care of itself without aid from the county.

For some time investigations of applications for county relief were made by a private society, The Associated Charities of Des Moines, working in close coöperation with the overseer of the poor. The following statement of the overseer is eloquent of the results of careful work:

Having been appointed to the position of overseer of the poor of Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa, August 1st, 1905, I conceived the idea that careful investigations and visiting of homes, which have never before been practiced in this city, would be a great benefit to the tax payers. I have now been in the work for nearly two years, and am convinced that the visiting of homes has partly resulted in the following saving for the tax payers of Polk County, Iowa:

Number of families who received aid in the year 1905, 490

With expenditures of\$11,887.91

Number of families who received aid in the year 1906, 252

With expenditures of\$ 6,988.31

a saving to the tax payers of Polk County in one year of \$4,899.60. The increase of population in the year 1906 was about ten thousand.

I would recommend that those who occupy the position of the overseer of the poor, and who are working in the interest of the tax payers of their counties, work in harmony with the Associated Charities. For, as overseer of the poor of the metropolis of Iowa, I feel convinced that they have been instrumental in causing a saving of many dollars to the tax payers of Polk county. Their aim is to teach those who apply for county aid to be independent and self-supporting, getting them employment, etc. On several occasions, I have recommended people who applied for county aid, to first visit the Secretary of the Associated Charities, who kindly gave some of them emergent aid for the sake of preventing them, if possible, from becoming county charges, and strange to say, some of them have returned to my office to thank me for my kindness in recommending them to the Associated Charities, and thus saving them from becoming public charges.⁶³

Under this plan of close coöperation there was a general division of cases between the overseer of the poor and the Associated Charities. The former took care of those requiring

continuous aid and the latter of the emergency and temporary cases. This prevented many families from being placed on the county books. Coöperation between the county and the Associated Charities fluctuates with the changes in the office of the overseer of the poor. During the winter of 1913-1914, when the coöperation was not so close, it sometimes happened that families who were being aided by the Associated Charities to prevent their becoming county charges, were also receiving county aid. This involved waste and prevented constructive work, i. e. putting of families in a position to care for themselves. During the winter of 1915-1916, a working agreement existed between the Associated Charities and the overseer of the poor. The applicants needing temporary assistance were provided for by the Associated Charities, while those needing help for a considerable period of time, were aided by the overseer of the poor.

Until recently the county records of poor relief were inadequate. They consisted of stubs of order books and the ledgers in which they had been posted. The names of the families who had been aided were not arranged in careful alphabetical order and almost no family data were given. To learn the amount of aid given to a family for a series of years, it was necessary to look through one ledger after another. However, during 1915, a family record system was installed.⁶⁴

Outside of the city limits of Des Moines the township trustees act as overseers of the poor and may provide whatever is needed for the poor in each township. The bills are approved by them and sent to the board of supervisors for payment.

Polk County presents in Valley Junction an unusual variation of administration. Valley Junction is a town of 3,000 people located immediately west of Des Moines, and has no township trustees. In this case the city council acts in place of the township trustees and provides for the needy poor. The bills incurred are approved and sent to the supervisors for payment. It is not necessary, however, to bring cases before the city council, as they may be referred directly to the county board of supervisors.⁶⁵

While widows' pensions are granted by the juvenile court, the county board of supervisors is responsible for providing the

money for them. In Polk County investigations of applications for widows' pensions are made by the three juvenile court or probation officers. When the case is heard, the county attorney questions the witnesses in open court, and on the evidence produced the judge decides the amount of the pension. The money for widows' pensions is paid from county funds.⁶⁶

Since the county must pay a certain sum for the care of children by the state, advocates of the Iowa law claimed that it would save the counties money by keeping children out of state institutions. As a matter of fact, pensions are not granted as an alternative for institutional care, nor has the operation of the law resulted in removing children from institutions. The county was already caring for widows through the existing systems of outdoor relief, and the new method of widows' pensions really became another county agency for outdoor relief. The practical working basis in Polk County is, that after a widows' pension is granted, all aid coming through the overseer ceases. If the court withholds a pension on the ground that evidence is not forthcoming to prove the need for it, the county refuses relief on the ground that it has been proved that the widow does not need county aid.

Investigations of applications for widows' pensions are sometimes meagre. In one case a pension of ten dollars a month was granted after the widow had been placed in the witness chair and questioned by the county attorney. There was no written report from the probation officer, though the officer had given a brief verbal report to the judge before the case was heard. The questioning of the widow did not reveal the fact that she had received damages from a railroad company because of the death of her husband, that a part of this money had been spent for a home, and that the home had been lost because payments could not be made on account of failing health; all evidence vital to the situation. In many cases, there is a lack of follow-up work, *i. e.* no planning of budgets and expenditures, and not enough checking up of the situation to learn if the pension, as granted, should be increased, lessened, or discontinued.

In Polk County, the soldiers' relief commission whose duty is the relief of destitute old soldiers, their wives, and their minor children, is constantly handicapped for money. The commissioners complain that the levy is too small to meet the needs, and that they are even forced to borrow at the bank to meet the demands. The commission works in close coöperation with the Women's Relief Corps and the Grand Army of the Republic in aiding soldiers and their families in their own homes, and also with the Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown, where many old soldiers and their wives are sent. Soldiers' relief is usually dispensed by check in amounts from two to six dollars a month, the average being about four dollars; burial expense to the amount of fifty dollars may be allowed, and a grant may be made of transportation of indigent soldiers or their wives to Marshalltown (the Soldiers' Home), or to a desired destination, place of residence, or place where relatives will provide for them.

The Polk County board of supervisors share the administration of relief with the city of Des Moines in the following way: quarantine cases which must be relieved are taken care of by the city health officers, orders for necessities being given on local grocery stores and coal offices. These bills, after being approved, are sent to the board of supervisors for payment. This is the only aid dispensed by the city authorities with the exception of a small amount allowed from city funds, and used by the city physician for transportation of non-resident sick to their homes. However, tickets may be purchased only to the border of the state, and if the patient must go farther, the balance of the money must be secured otherwise, or the patient is left to his own devices to secure a ticket to his destination outside the state. To illustrate, a foreigner, a Slavic miner, was taken sick. His countrymen cared for him as long as they could and then appealed for assistance. The man wanted to go to a small town not far from Peoria, Illinois. A telegram to the mayor of the town brought back the reply: "Send him back; we will care for him." The city physician bought the man's ticket to Davenport, and the Associated Charities provided a ticket for the remainder of the journey.⁶⁷

The city makes no provision for the care of non-residents, except for medical treatment, and the non-resident poor must be cared for by the private relief societies, or sent to their places of residence. For several years, during the winter months, the city conducted a municipal lodging house for the care of transient men. This was discontinued as a city institution, and at the present time the only provision for transients made by the city is to give them lodging and breakfast at the city jail.

Cases of accident, acute sickness of non-residents, and other emergent medical cases, even of residents, are taken care of by the city, and hospital care for these patients is paid for by the city, if such care is required. There is a city physician as well as a city health officer. The city physician answers emergency calls and visits the non-resident sick in their homes. There is sometimes considerable quibbling as to whether the city or the county physician should answer calls, the question at issue being the residence of the patient.

The county's sick, *i. e.* the resident poor who are sick, are given medical attention by the county physician, a local doctor employed by the supervisors. He visits the sick poor in their homes upon order of the overseer of the poor, and also cares for the people at the county home, and visits the three county hospitals. Advanced cases of tuberculosis are cared for at the county tuberculosis hospital, and cases of chronic diseases at the county hospital. In acute and operative cases of resident poor, the county physician may place the sick in wards at the Methodist, Mercy, Des Moines General, or Lutheran hospitals, and the county pays the bills when approved by the county physician or the overseer of the poor. In some instances where private physicians are caring for cases as charity patients, the overseer of the poor or the county physician may authorize entrance to one of the hospitals and the county pays the hospital bills.

For a time the Polk county board of supervisors appropriated seventy-five dollars a month to the Visiting Nurses' Association, and the nurse was then subject to call by the overseer or county physician. In the fall of 1913, the supervisors decided to employ a nurse of their own. The allowance to the Visiting Nurses' Association was discontinued and a former visiting nurse em-

ployed. She did much of the interviewing and calling on behalf of the overseer of the poor, and was required to call on the county sick when sent by the county physician. During 1915 this trained nurse was elected overseer of the poor, and the supervisors again in 1916 made an appropriation to the Visiting Nurses' Association in return for the services of a visiting nurse.

In evolving a plan to enable the family to help itself, the county may bring to its support some good laws for the treatment of certain cases of family dependence. If a woman applies for aid, telling of a deserting or non-supporting husband, the county aids only on condition that the woman will appear before the grand jury and will give testimony against her husband in accordance with the desertion law.⁶⁸ The contributory dependency law⁶⁹ provides for bringing into juvenile court a father who is a drunkard or a non-supporter. The judge may appoint a guardian, who has the authority to put the man to work and draw his wages for the benefit of the family. If the man refuses to coöperate with the guardian in accordance with the court's order, he is subject to punishment for contempt of court. So far as the writer knows no such case has been carried through contempt proceedings.

While a remarkably good feeling prevails between private and public agencies in Des Moines, no definite plan of coördination* has resulted. The situation is complicated by a large number of private charitable agencies. Among these there is much overlapping of function, and consequently a waste of time, energy, and money. The situation in regard to employment is a good illustration of the duplication of function. In 1913, there were eight different private agencies in Des Moines trying to operate in this field. They were (1) Associated Charities, (2) Young Women's Christian Association, (3) Young Men's Christian Association, (4) Salvation Army, (5) Volunteers of America, (6) Iowa Public Welfare League, (7) Roadside Settlement, (8) Scott Street Day Nursery. All of these agencies were spending a certain amount of time in the effort to secure

*In December 1917, a Public Welfare Bureau was established as a department of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce. This Bureau conducted a financial campaign for twenty-two local charities, all of which are members of the Bureau.

employment for applicants when their forces might have been combined and one worker employed to take charge of a central employment office. This is only one instance of duplication of function in the field of charitable endeavor. During the winter of 1914-1915 a central employment office was established at the municipal building, but it was operated only for a few months. The Associated Charities actually spent about five hundred dollars to place applicants in the country and to close the business of the central bureau.⁷⁰

Duplication of work by the agencies in Des Moines has been greatly lessened since 1915 by the establishment of a confidential exchange called the Social Service Registration Bureau. This has the support of the business men, and each charitable agency is required to register with the Bureau the names of all its beneficiaries, and to subscribe a certain amount towards the Bureau's support as conditions of endorsement by the Retail Merchants' Bureau.⁷¹ This endorsement is a prerequisite demanded by the Chamber of Commerce before contributions may be solicited from its members.

INDOOR RELIEF

The county institution, familiarly known as the "Poor Farm" has four distinct departments. (1) The county home has a ward for men, and in a separate building, a ward for women. When an aged couple is sent to the "Farm," they are separated. The women's ward is on the lower floor of the central brick building, on the upper floor of which is the county hospital. The county has made a rule not to give outdoor relief, *i. e.* relief in the home, to families in which are no minor children although, of course, no one can be compelled to go to the home. The practice of refusing outdoor relief to this class of dependents has been quite generally followed, though there have been exceptions. In 1916 the county home was reported as crowded and inadequate for all the people needing its care, and, to meet this situation, the county provided cash relief or boarded out its clients, giving orders for their care and keep, which averaged about twelve dollars a month. About one-third of the families receiving outdoor relief in 1916, were childless old couples.⁷² (2) The county

hospital cares for chronic cases of disease or for cases which are not acute enough or of such serious character as to require to be taken to one of the city hospitals. Minor operations are often performed. (3) A hospital for the treatment of advanced cases of tuberculosis, the capacity of which is ten beds, is located on the grounds of the county farm.* (4) Located near the tuberculosis hospital is the county hospital for the insane. As a rule cases considered incurable are cared for in the county hospital. In accordance with the law patients at the state hospitals who are pronounced incurable may under certain conditions be transferred from the state hospitals to the county hospital.⁷³

Besides the indoor relief at the county farm the county pays a stipulated amount, fixed by the state and uniform for all counties, for the insane, for inebriates, for incipient cases of tuberculosis, and for other county charges cared for at state institutions.

*October 15, 1917, Polk County voted bonds for \$100,000 for a site and buildings for a Tuberculosis Hospital to be in the confines of Des Moines. Capacity will be fifty beds.

IV

COST OF POOR RELIEF IN IOWA

Iowa is a prosperous rural state and is not popularly supposed to have serious problems of poverty. Financial reports prove that the reverse is true. Of the ninety-nine counties only two have no county homes. In one of these the dependents who would ordinarily be sent to the county home are "boarded out;" in the other, their care is contracted for. Almost 20,000 acres are included in county farms in Iowa, while the appraised valuation of county homes and county farms in eighty-four counties was given as \$4,400,522 in 1915. According to the same report 2,555 persons were cared for in eighty-five county homes in 1915,⁷⁴ and the net cost, exclusive of investment, of eighty-two county homes was \$354,943.64 for 1915.⁷⁵ It has not been possible to secure complete reports of the cost for all of the ninety-nine counties. The cost of county hospitals or wards in the county homes for care of the insane is included in the general cost of county homes.

The amount expended for outdoor relief in seventy-five counties totaled, for 1915, \$638,949.17.⁷⁶ The Soldier's Relief Commissions in ninety-four counties expended \$177,472.28 in 1915,⁷⁷ while widows' pensions amounted to \$153,810.49 for the same year.⁷⁸ For 1915, therefore, the cost of the county homes, of outdoor poor relief, of widows' pensions, and of soldiers' relief in Iowa was \$1,325,176.20 and this sum does not include the large amount of money that the state pays for the care of county patients at the different state institutions, nor does it include the cost of caring for dependent, defective, or delinquent children.

During the biennial period, 1914 to 1916, the amounts paid by the counties for the support of county patients in hospitals for the insane were \$1,448,757.61;⁷⁹ for inebriates, \$56,355.41;⁸⁰ and in the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home, \$76,233.61.⁸¹ The balance

of the cost of these institutions is paid by the state. Expenditures for support for the biennial period, 1914 to 1916, for the Soldiers' Home, the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, the School for the Deaf, the School for the Feeble-Minded, the State Sanatorium for the Treatment of Tuberculosis, the Industrial Schools for Boys and Girls, the State Hospitals for the Insane, the State Colony for Epileptics, the State Hospital for Inebriates, the State Penitentiary, and the State Reformatory totaled \$4,064,789.94. The expenditures from special funds for these institutions and for the Women's Reformatory during the same period was \$1,484,871.29. The twenty-seven private institutions for friendless children report total disbursements of \$397,212.51 for the year ending December 31, 1915.⁸²

V

VARIATIONS OF ADMINISTRATION

By means of a questionnaire⁸³ effort was made to obtain some idea of the methods of administration in use in the ninety-nine counties in Iowa. The replies indicate that scientific methods are not in general use.

In answer to the question of time of residence required for eligibility for county relief the replies show a variation of from sixty days to a year. Transients are treated somewhat uniformly; temporary aid, notice to leave the county, and attempts to collect the amount of aid given from the home county, constitute the usual program. As to transportation, the unwise practice of "shipping on" is still too much in evidence. The following replies are indicative: "Pass along to the next county seat, if it is evident that it is cheapest;" "Serve notice;" "Give transportation if it will rid the county of them;" "Buy ticket and ship them towards home;" "Give ticket to next county seat in direction they want to go;" "Transportation is a saving in many cases." Some counties limit transportation to women, old men, the sick, and cripples. A few counties refuse transportation until adequate investigation can be made. Their method is to communicate with responsible persons at the desired destination, and to purchase transportation, if evidence is forthcoming that the applicant has residence there or will be cared for. Transportation, when granted, should be given, however, to destination, and not just to the next county seat. It should be given able-bodied applicants only under extraordinary conditions. Employment should be offered instead.

The majority of counties keep practically no family data, such as names of members of the family, ages, accurate address, rent paid, occupation, income, and resources. Usually the name of the head of the family is secured and occasionally the number of children and the income. Ordinarily the address is noted and

sometimes the amount of rent paid. A new overseer has very few data to acquaint him with the families who have had county aid, and a change in regime is an excuse for possible applicants to take advantage of the new incumbent. Nearly all of the counties keep records of relief by means of stubs of order blanks and ledgers. A few counties have a good card system, which can usually be traced to the immediate influence of organized charity methods. The printed financial reports of the different counties do not give the number of families aided. In one town the overseer's report stated that the total number of applicants for the year was 2,920, but the overseer had simply added the number of applicants for each month regardless of the fact that some of them were continued cases. As a matter of fact, somewhat fewer than 200 different families had received relief, excluding the transient or non-resident cases.⁸⁴ A few counties still publish a list of families aided,⁸⁵ a plan which is most humiliating to the applicant.

In one city it was found that the overseer of the poor had no system of records or even a ledger account of relief disbursed. The carbon copies of orders issued were the only records kept by him. The county auditor, of course, kept the bills paid by the county for poor relief.⁸⁶ Since this study was made, the county in question has installed a system of individual family records.

Three methods of purchasing supplies for outdoor relief were found: (1) buying at wholesale prices and conducting a store room from which supplies are given out in needed quantities by the overseer;⁸⁷ (2) contracting with a retail grocery, which has been the lowest bidder, to furnish staple supplies to applicants on order from the overseer;⁸⁸ and (3) giving orders on local retail stores.⁸⁹ Under the last plan orders may be specific or may be "bulk orders" which indicate the amount of merchandise but not the kind and quantity.

In one city a study of the local situation showed that the overseer of the poor had but little authority and was practically serving as a clerk to distribute relief in accordance with action taken by the board of supervisors.⁹⁰ The general investigations were not up to the recognized standard, and the record system

was found inadequate. Bulk orders, stating that a certain firm should give to the bearer groceries to a certain amount, were used instead of definite orders based upon needs. A committee of the supervisors heard applications for relief and determined the amount to be given. The same committee seemed to assume the granting of widows' pensions.⁹¹

Three methods of providing medical care for the poor in their homes were found. (1) The supervisors appoint a local physician at a fixed yearly salary to answer calls to the homes of needy people after the call has been approved by the overseer of the poor. The same physician may also, and usually does, care for the patients at the county home and the county jail. (2) The supervisors pay local physicians for calls upon the sick upon an order from the overseer of the poor, either at regular or at special rates. This method allows the poor families to name the physician they prefer and assures the physician his pay. (3) The supervisors grant a sum each year to the county medical association in return for which the members agree to answer all calls upon order from the overseer of the poor. This process results in rotation of physicians, different physicians serving in turn for a specified time. The first and second plans are in most general use; the third is in operation in Waterloo.

VI

DIFFICULTIES OF ADMINISTRATION

An analysis of the law, of its detailed administration in one county, and of the variations in its administration in the state make clear that the problem of administering poor relief in Iowa has not been solved. Certain specific difficulties should be mentioned.

The board of supervisors is an elective body dependent upon local political influence. Its most important function is the making of the county levy for taxation and its apportionment. The supervisors are bound to consider the expense of every department; at the same time certain expenditures are demanded by their political obligations. As a result the board is between two fires—one the keeping down of expenses; the other, the spending of money to satisfy their constituents.

The overseer of the poor is usually a political appointee and subject to some political pressure. If a large taxpayer asks aid for a certain family, it is difficult, because of his political influence, to deny the request. On the other hand, the overseer must be economical so as to make a showing when his reports are submitted to the supervisors, and so that the question of saving of expense or the weight of political influence may overbalance his decisions relative to what is best for a family.

Relief is only one function of the township trustees and one that has probably received the least attention, since dependence in the purely rural districts is limited in amount. Township trustees are more or less dependent politically upon the board of supervisors, and their acts are shaped largely by what they think will meet with the approval of the board. They must be economical or run the risk of having their bills denied payment. They are largely unacquainted with modern methods of dealing with relief and are apt to be slow and cautious.

County officials in charge of relief are seldom trained charity workers. Changes are frequent and often result in forcing an official out of office just as he is becoming efficient. The new man, in his turn, learns his lessons from day to day, the poor often having to pay for his experience through his mistakes in generosity or his niggardliness. The administrator of relief funds is dealing not with inanimate objects but with the most delicate thing in the world, personality.

Wise administration takes infinite patience. Always the element of human nature enters into the solving of every family problem, a most uncertain element, and yet the one that makes the work so important and so difficult. Too much cannot be demanded or expected of an official receiving many times only a nominal salary—salaries of overseers range from ten to sixty dollars a month, and sometimes less than one hundred dollars a year is paid. In one county the salary is \$1200.00,⁹² and in another \$1500.00; in the latter case, however, part of the salary is paid from private funds.

Many times without any investigation the applicant's story is taken at its face value. In one county the overseer of the poor received applications by telephone or letter, and forthwith sent out what had been summarily "ordered" from him. One overseer, in speaking of an aged couple who owned a comfortable home, and who had several strong and prosperous married children, said: "What could I do? The old couple would not give me a lien on the property, because they wanted it for their children. The children refused to help their parents, so the county had to do something." In another instance, a county aided the families of three brothers, two of whom lived in the same house. The three men were able-bodied, drank heavily, and left the support of their families to their wives and to the county. Again the county continued aid, notwithstanding the fact that Iowa has a hospital for inebriates and a good non-support law. Practically no effort is made to secure employment for those out of work or to make a definite plan to help the families to support themselves. One overseer remarked that the county could not discriminate as carefully as private societies, because the money was to help the poor, and when a poor man applied

to him, although the man was able to work, there was nothing for the county to do but give assistance.

One of the difficulties resulting from the present system of relief is a duplication of function and of machinery. Especially is this true of the widows' pensions and the poor fund proper, as handled by the overseers of the poor and the township trustees. The juvenile court, whose primary function is the care of children, has had thrust upon it the administration of a form of relief, widows' pensions. The overseer of the poor and the township trustees were already caring for widows in need. The law providing for widows' pensions has entailed a confusion as to fields of labor, an overlapping of function with a resulting duplication and waste in repeated investigations and in the time of officials.

The law does not provide adequately in widows' pension cases for the investigation which is necessary to protect the county from wasteful expenditure and to protect the widow and her family from the disastrous results of relief given without the requirement that the family should do all in its power to become self-supporting. Illustrative of the need for investigation is the story of a widow who used the pension money not for her family but to pay for her husband's tombstone. One judge told of the case of a woman that had been heard in his court. As he was on the point of granting a pension, he decided that the woman looked unusually well-dressed and he could not understand why she was in such need. He called her back to the stand, put her through a severe grilling, and as a result learned that she owned a farm, hogs, cattle, horses, and chickens. Of course the pension was not granted.

The law makes no provision for some one to visit in the homes after the pension is granted, to help plan the family budget; to advise the mother relative to the purchasing of family supplies, to see that the children are kept in school and in good physical condition or directed into employment with a future; and keep the court informed of the family needs and resources so that if advisable the pension may be increased or discontinued. As now administered the pension automatically ceases for each child as the child reaches the age of sixteen.

In the case of widows' pensions the law gives the court the right to grant the pension and specifies that the board of supervisors must pay it. One county refused to pay the pensions granted by the court and questioned the constitutionality of the law, but finally it was forced by local public opinion to pay the pensions granted.

To sum up the situation, the administration of relief is characterized frequently by a lack of complete records, of trained officials, of thorough investigation, and of follow-up work. The results in the waste of public money, in the pauperization of families, and the lack of constructive work to rehabilitate families now dependent, constitute a serious problem. The same careful business methods of accounting, bookkeeping, and administration should be exercised in giving relief or aid to the needy poor as in the conduct of any business. It is all the more important since the giving of relief so vitally affects the lives of people.

In the last few years some of the citizens, especially business men, have become aware of the inefficiency of much of the relief work, but when a change of method is suggested, a serious and practical difficulty presents itself: the smaller communities cannot pay double for relief. In other words, they cannot pay taxes levied by the county board of supervisors for public relief funds and the salary of a public official, and at the same time pay, by means of personal contributions, for a private relief fund and a trained charity worker. The problem is being solved by a combination of public and private agencies. This method is commonly referred to by Iowa social workers as "the Iowa Plan."

VII

THE IOWA PLAN.

GRINNELL

In the spring of 1912, citizens of Grinnell were much concerned to find that the town was expending for poor relief what seemed to be an amount out of proportion to the needs. Grinnell is a college town of about 5000 population, not a town of foreigners, of factory people, or of apparent poverty. These citizens discussed the situation with the county board of supervisors with the result that the supervisors decided to employ a trained social worker to make a local investigation. The writer, at that time assistant secretary of the Des Moines Associated Charities, was employed.

The spirit of the town was a desire to be of service, and every aid was given to make the survey successful. There were, however, no records of the families which had been receiving aid. A list of those receiving aid had been published in the newspapers after the January meeting of the board of supervisors and again after the April meeting. This was not a list of families, with amount of aid given, but was a quota of bills allowed, each firm in presenting its bill having itemized it in this fashion: "Groceries for Jones family, \$12.40." The items from the two printed lists for the different families were pasted on cards of uniform size. This card catalogue gave the names of families and the amount of relief each family had received in a period of about six months. The card file was then taken to the overseer of the poor, who gave information as to where the family lived and whether it was then receiving aid. In only a few instances was the number of the house given. This omission caused the loss of considerable time in locating the homes. The first plan of the investigator was to have office hours for about two hours a day, so that all families applying for aid might be referred to

her by the overseer. This method would have given opportunity to secure family data and to get in touch with the family in an unobtrusive way. As the overseer was not in favor of the plan, visiting in the homes was begun at once. The investigator's coming had been heralded in the newspapers, everyone knew the purpose of the investigation, and it was currently predicted that the families would refuse to give information. This proved to be a false prophecy. The families received the investigator in good spirit, and only in a few places was there any hesitancy in giving the data asked.

Seventy-two cases were listed. One of these had received the amount credited to her, a dollar and a half, not as aid for herself, but in payment for work done for others. One case, not included in the seventy-two was that of an old lady who had given her home to the county in return for care during her lifetime. Ten of the cases were no longer living in Grinnell. Sixty-one families, which had been recipients of county aid, were visited as was also the annuity case. In addition, employers, merchants, physicians, relatives, and teachers were interviewed. Not only was a separate report of each family's condition given to the supervisors, but a graphic chart showing conditions was also prepared.

Specific recommendations were also made in writing. The following extracts from the report will be of interest:

1. The need for thorough investigation is imperative.
2. The necessity is clear of watching the situation, in order to throw the family on its own responsibility as soon as possible, and also in order to be sure that the family is utilizing all aid given and all its own resources.
3. The need for cooperation with physicians, schools, health officer, and relatives is apparent.
4. Cooperation on the part of the family in the plan made for its welfare is requisite.
5. There is imperative need for an employment exchange, so that when a man or woman applies saying he or she cannot get work, the overseer can say in return, "Here is work for you to do, if you want it."
6. A permanent worker is needed to give his or her entire time to the work. This need is the greatest, and in reality it combines the other five.

On first thought this plan would seem impracticable in a town the size of Grinnell, but I am convinced that it will more than prove its desirability. Summing up the amounts voted at the January and April meetings of the

supervisors, we find that the amount for Grinnell was about \$4000. For the rest of the county it was less than \$1100. Poweshiek County has a population of about 19,000, Grinnell has a little over one-fourth of this number, yet the relief in Grinnell was almost four times that for the rest of the county.

Relief ought to be given when and where it is needed and in sufficient amount, but nothing is more disastrous than relief where it is not needed. When people get to depending on others, and from a state of being willing to let others care for them become unwilling to exert themselves, and then demand relief as their right because they are poor and citizens, some radical measure must be taken. I wish you could have gone with me into some of the homes and heard some of the expressions. I want to quote a few of them.

One woman said she sent all her orders to the overseer by mail. One day when I was calling in a home the mother said to me; "I sent an order for some coal the other day, but it hasn't come." I asked her where she ordered it, and she said from the overseer, and then she added she guessed she would have to buy some herself tomorrow. One family said the county did well by them. One man, as he sat in the doorway of his home, said that he didn't think it was much harm to get help if a man couldn't get work. He did not look very enthusiastic over the prospect of hunting for work. One woman remarked naively that Grinnell was a good place to live, people were so good to the poor. I was somewhat surprised when one woman remarked she had not applied for the aid, and she declared she did not know who had applied for her. She was rather a haughty young woman and said she didn't see why I asked her any questions. I asked her if she didn't get more than one ton of coal and she said, yes. I then asked her if she had not said something about it and she said, no. She finally declared, however, that the coal saved her quite a little. She also said she would not apply again as she could pay for her own coal, and she would not have gotten it if she had known her name would be published. Another woman told me it had been suggested to her that she should have her doctor bill paid by the county, but she said she wouldn't after the names appeared in the paper and she is now paying it herself. Repeatedly I have heard: "So and So got aid, and ought not to have it," or "So and So got aid and didn't need it half as much as we did," or "Mrs. Brown got such a lot of help and I could hardly get any."

Relief is the hardest thing in the world to give wisely. Material relief, coal, groceries, clothing, is not the only kind needed. Sometimes friendly advice or just a kind thought, a little encouragement or the helping to get employment really helps more than relief orders.

For all these reasons it would seem advisable to have one worker giving entire time to the work. To make it practical, this combination has been suggested. Let the individual who is appointed overseer of the poor also act as agent of the Grinnell Charity Organization Society. He or she could also act as humane officer and as truant officer. The expense of such an

officer could be shared, and it would then be a burden to no one, and would repay a hundredfold in the kind of work done.

What would it mean if this were done?

1. Thorough investigation and accurate records of poor relief.
2. An actual saving in the amount of poor relief.
3. An employment exchange.
4. A central agency where tramps and beggars could be referred for work and their stories might be investigated.
5. It would save administration expenses.
6. It would save repeated investigations by agents of different organizations.
7. It would mean the concentration of work so that if court action were needed, it could be taken.
8. It would make possible a trained social worker, cognizant of all the phases of the situation who could deal with any emergency; who could work with schools, churches, and the health officer and who could advise with individuals who wished to help families with private funds and keep them from the county books.
9. It would help to save the respect and preserve the independence of the families needing assistance.

I have outlined a number of practical and somewhat technical suggestions.

1. All orders should be given on regular blanks and signed by the overseer.
2. Each bill presented should be itemized and should have clipped or pinned to it, the separate orders given by the overseer of the poor.
3. No stores should honor any orders except those on the regular blanks.
4. The overseer of the poor should keep a record of each order given. This may be done by means of carbon copies.
5. Each case applying for aid should be thoroughly investigated and recommendation made according to conditions.
6. The overseer should keep a complete record of each family and send changes of condition to the auditor of the county with whom a duplicate record should be kept.
7. The overseer should report monthly to the board of supervisors.
8. Emergency orders should be given by the overseer, and should be approved by the supervisors at the monthly meeting, at which time they should pass upon the continuing of relief.
9. Physicians should have an order from the overseer to attend a patient or the bills should not be approved by the supervisors.
10. Orders of milk and eggs should be given only on a physician's recommendation, and when the family can not provide them for itself.
11. All orders given by the overseer should be itemized with definite amount for each article.
12. When bills are audited, the originals and carbons should correspond.

13. Notice should be promptly served on non-residents likely to become county charges.

14. Names of families receiving county aid should not be published again. The purpose for which they were published has been served.

15. Some kind of work-test is imperative.

16. Groceries should be given only once a week.

There are some other suggestions in connection with the work with the families: in case of desertion or continued non-support, court action should be taken; relatives visiting or staying in the home should pay for their own care and should not expect the county to provide for them (this refers to relatives other than the immediate family). If a desertion case has been tried, and the man ordered to pay a definite sum towards the family's support, the worker should see that this amount is paid. Children should not be allowed to come to the overseer's office.

I can only add that, in order to put the relief work on a good business basis, business methods should be used and some one should be secured who would know how to conduct the work in a business-like way, and some one who could devote the entire time to it. This means a salary for full time and a decided increase over the present allowance for the work. An overseer devoting his or her entire time is the most imperative need and in order to carry out the suggestions made, a competent, energetic, capable person, sympathetic and kind, able to win the confidence of the poor and well-to-do alike, would help to solve the problem.⁹⁴

After the report had been given at Montezuma, the county seat and had been accepted, the board of supervisors united with the Charity Organization Society of Grinnell in the employment of a trained worker for the next year, each body appropriating \$500.00 for such a worker, who should act as secretary of the Charity Organization Society and overseer, and who should give attention also to the county, although outside of Grinnell recommendations only would be made to the township trustees and supervisors. The Charity Organization Society was later reorganized under the name of the Social Service League, the board of which was composed of nine members elected from contributors, two elected by the Woman's Civic Union and the Ministerial Union, and three members *ex-officiis*, the mayor, the superintendent of schools, and the resident supervisor.

The results of the first year's work were remarkable. During 1912, the county had expended in Grinnell approximately \$8,000.00. During 1913 this amount was cut down to about \$4,200.00. From the private funds there was spent an addi-

tional \$600.00. In other words, a total of \$4,800.00 was expended in 1913, a saving of about 40 per cent.⁹⁵

The Social Service League styles itself a "Bureau for Community Service." Funds are used as follows:

County Funds provide for all general expenses of relief and administration. There are *Special Needs* which cannot be met by county money. These are provided for through private funds voluntarily contributed. These *Special Needs* include:

1. Medical care for school children whose parents cannot provide it;
2. Special hospital care for members of self-supporting families where the income does not permit of extra expense for such attention;
3. Temporary loans to persons who need just a little lift over a hard place.

The overseer of the poor is also truant officer and investigator of all widows' pension cases. Clean-up day, play ground, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, health work, home gardens, protection and care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children, coöperation of all charitable agencies during the year, and a plan for Christmas giving have been promoted.⁹⁶

At the end of the first year under the combination plan, the supervisors were so well pleased with the results that they voluntarily assumed the entire expense of salary and administration of the office.⁹⁷

The year 1914 saw the Social Service League occupying a yet larger place as the center of social activity, and still further reduction was made in expenditures: \$3,902.09 from county, \$263.82 from private funds, a total of \$4,165.97.⁹⁸ Mr. I. H. Saunders, chairman of the board of supervisors of Poweshiek County made the following statement:

"Our worker has been able to render a large amount of assistance to township trustees in outlying townships. We are very much pleased with continued results and would not think of going back to the old system of caring for our unfortunates."⁹⁹

OSKALOOSA

Oskaloosa adopted the same plan that Grinnell has instituted, organizing a Social Service League, and employing a trained worker as overseer and secretary, who began work March 5, 1914.¹⁰⁰ The salary is paid jointly by the county and the league. The secretary and overseer also serves as police matron, truant officer charged with enforcement of the child labor law, probation officer appointed by the court, investigator of all widows' pension cases, and manager of the "Goodfellow" work at Christmas time. An employment office is conducted by the League and a plan making possible a visiting nurse has been devised.¹⁰¹

WATERLOO

Since 1905 public relief and private charity funds have passed through the hands of the Waterloo Association of Charities and Correction,* with the overseer of the poor acting as superintendent. A statement of expenditures by the county for the years 1906 to 1914 inclusive shows that although the city had much more than doubled its population during this period, the expense to the county for these items had scarcely increased.¹⁰² On January 25, 1915, the staff of field workers consisted of the overseer, at a monthly salary of eighty-five dollars and three nurses at seventy-five dollars a month. Of these salaries the county paid at that time sixty-five dollars a month for the overseer, and seventy-five dollars for one nurse and the school board paid forty dollars towards the salary of a nurse for work done in the schools. There were no overhead charges as the city gave an office in the city hall.†*.

The following analysis of the work is given by Dr. G. Hardy Clark, formerly of Waterloo, who was a very active member of the board of directors.

The outline of our work given below will show the intimate interweaving of the city, school, private and county interests in the unsanitary and destructive social condition that make up our

*Now the Social Service League of Waterloo

†Office now in the county court-house

city pathology, and will illustrate our conception of the necessity of dealing with them all by a strong central agency.

The association operating as a Public Service Board investigates and acts for the

CITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sanitary environments Overcrowded and insanitary homes Neglected contagious diseases Evidence to present to our morals commission
SCHOOLS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspection of schools Inspection and management of school children in homes Truancy (as yet we do but part of this work) Defectives Adenoid and other operations
PRIVATE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Holiday giving Holiday giving by schools Families given to church and other societies to care for Families given clothing and household furniture Infants' clothing furnished School children furnished shoes, clothing, etc. Red Cross Funds Store conducted Money loaned Work for idle men and women secured
COUNTY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Authority to judge between public care and private charity Prevent locating of undesirables Regulating and nursing of tuberculosis cases Confinements Care of infants Care of abandoned and neglected children Pursuit of deserting husbands Home nursing and surgical dressings County expenditures for food, fuel and clothing¹⁰⁹

The association is buying a piece of property and is conducting a "store." This is really a rummage store. Second hand garments are sold to those able to pay a small sum or are given to those unable to pay. The profit from the store is used to liquidate the debt on the property.

One very interesting and unusual piece of work is the juvenile Morals' Commission, established by the association, a statement of which follows.

The purpose and objects of the commission are:

- (a) To investigate improper or evil practices of children, and the neglect or mismanagement of children on the part of parents, guardians or others having their care, custody or control.
- (b) To obtain information relating to juvenile dependents and delinquents and neglected children, at Waterloo, Iowa, and in its immediate vicinity.
- (c) To institute and maintain measures of relief and correction in the homes and environment of delinquent, dependent, ill-used or neglected children.
- (d) To procure and submit to the juvenile court evidence relating to the cases of such children as may come within its jurisdiction.
- (e) To perform such other acts as may, from time to time, be deemed advisable by the commission for promoting the welfare of dependent, neglected or friendless children.

The members of the commission, in carrying out the purpose and objects of its organization, shall act under and by the authority of the juvenile court of Black Hawk County, Iowa, so far as such authority may be granted.

The officers of the commission shall be a chairman, and secretary, who shall be elected by the members of the commission from their number, and shall hold their respective offices until their successors are elected.

The association of Charities and Corrections of Waterloo, Iowa, in October, 1915, and annually thereafter, shall appoint the members of this commission, and fill any vacancies which may occur in the membership of such commission before the next annual meeting of the Association of Charities and Corrections.

The Commission may adopt such rules and by-laws for its own government, as may from time to time be considered appropriate to the accomplishments of the object of its creation.¹⁰⁴

November 1, 1915, a trained worker, a young woman resident of Waterloo, was appointed overseer of the poor as well as superintendent of the association and the name of the organization was changed to Social Welfare League of Waterloo.

Through the Social Welfare League there was presented to the city council in December, 1917, the necessity for a plan to insure the protection of givers of Waterloo. The city council was sympathetic with the movement and the business men helped to urge the adoption of a plan. As a result an ordinance was passed prohibiting the soliciting of funds (in whole or in part)

for any War Fund, War Aid Fund or any Charitable Purpose whatsoever except upon authorization or approval of the Board of Official Censors. This Board of Official Censors consists of five persons who serve without compensation and who are appointed by the mayor with the approval of the city council. This ordinance was passed on December 21, 1917. The first board appointed will hold office until the first Monday in April, 1918, and each succeeding board will hold office for the succeeding two years. Miss Ada M. Palmer, who is secretary of the Social Welfare League, was elected chairman of the Board of Official Censors.

The Board is working out definite forms to be used in presentation of requests for approval in reporting the work of the organization, asking for a certificate of approval and a plan for making a survey and directory of all of the agencies in Waterloo which solicit funds through private subscriptions.

OTTUMWA

Before a meeting of the business men of Ottumwa in June 1914, there was outlined the advantages of concerted action in caring for the needy families.¹⁰⁵ Emphasis was placed upon constructive family work, that is, upon the effort to enable needy families to care for themselves. It was pointed out that no arbitrary plan could be brought to the city, but that the plan should be made to fit the peculiar local needs. It was voted that a brief survey should be made to ascertain just what the conditions were, what the needs were, and what plan could be worked out to meet these needs. Upon the invitation of the commercial club, the Bureau of Social Welfare of the Extension Division of the State University undertook the task. The commercial club appointed a committee with which the investigator was in constant consultation, a desk was provided in the commercial club office, and the business men gave every possible help. Each new development was reported to the commercial club committee, and the plan gradually took definite shape as the committee reviewed the data secured. Representatives of all the different societies, lodges, and churches were interviewed, and lists of the families they had assisted and the amounts of

money expended during the preceding year were obtained. Hospitals, parks, schools, the mission, county home, county and city jail, Young Men's Christian Association, and Young Women's Christian Association were visited. The judge of the district court, the police judge, the county attorney, the county and city physician, and other officials were interviewed, were questioned as to local conditions, and their coöperation was enlisted in a plan for constructive family work.

The investigator was invited to the meetings of the directorate boards of both the commercial club and of the retail dealers' association. It was shown what the organization of a central agency to deal with the family needs would mean to Ottumwa. It was argued that it was good business to make systematic, adequate, and really helpful provision for the needs of the poor of the city. "Key" people in the city were personally interviewed and interested in the effort to work out a local plan. The overseer of the poor was of great assistance in giving the names of all families aided by the county, and much valuable data in regard to their home conditions. A card catalogue was made showing the number of families aided during the previous year, and the total amounts expended by all the different local agencies. Visits were made to a number of these families, the location of whose homes covered a wide territory. The different families were encouraged to tell their stories, not that it might be determined whether the family should or should not have relief, but that some knowledge of its personal attitude and living conditions might be secured.

Near the close of the survey, a conference of the board of supervisors, the commercial club committee and the investigator was held in the office of the commercial club. The supervisors were told that the business men of the city were desirous of organizing a central agency to take care of all the relief work of the community, that the work of caring for needy poor families had been done in most haphazard fashion, that business men were being constantly solicited, and that practically no effort was being made to encourage families to take care of themselves. It was explained that the commercial club committee hoped the work of this new organization would so commend itself to the board of supervisors that the secretary, a trained worker, would be ap-

pointed overseer of the poor. Through this plan it was believed much money could be saved to the community, and that dependent families would be encouraged to become independent and self-supporting. The supervisors were not asked to declare themselves in favor of the plan. It was pointed out that this friendly consultation was simply to acquaint them with the plan and its possibilities.

The ministerial association composed of ministers of the local churches also had the plan presented to them. The ministerial association, in fact, had initiated the movement. They had appointed a committee to present the need for organized charity to the commercial club, and the commercial club had then appointed its committee, including as a member, the chairman of the ministerial association committee. After the commercial club took up the matter, the ministerial association had dropped into the background, none the less interested, but feeling that the business men were the proper persons to carry through the organization. From September 12 to 15, 1914, a publicity campaign was conducted to explain the working of a central organization and to show the need for a trained worker. Among the meetings addressed by the investigator was an open meeting of the Elks Lodge. It is interesting to note that after the organization of the Associated Charities, the Elks Lodge made a pledge of \$200.00.

The campaign was concluded with a banquet at the commercial club headquarters. At this meeting a full report of conditions was given, and specific recommendations were made. The report was adopted, and a directing board was elected, with members not only from Ottumwa, but from nearby towns. The name chosen was the Associated Charities of Wapello County, and the budget decided upon was \$5,000.00, part of which was for an emergency relief fund, and the rest for the employment of a trained social worker and other administrative expenses. Besides the relief department, an employment exchange was planned, together with a joint registration bureau, where all agencies might register in a confidential file the names of the families aided by them, and so prevent duplication and overlapping. Attention was to be given to the problem of neglected, dependent, and delinquent children, and the office was to serve

as a center to which all families and individuals soliciting aid might be sent, their needs provided for, and effort made to establish self-maintenance. The new organization was designed also as a central place to which homeless men might be referred, through which they might secure work to pay for their lodging and meals if they were able-bodied, and through which, if they were ill, they might be taken care of and given medical aid until their family or place of residence could be learned.

Ottumwa, a city of 22,000 people, had expended in one year no less than \$25,000 for its needy poor, and a conservative estimate based upon the returns from the different societies, placed the number of families aided, either continuously or intermittently, as 300 or in the neighborhood of 1,500 individuals. The city had given 1,449 lodgings to transient men at the city jail without further provision for them. It was also shown that some of the dwelling houses were in a deplorable condition, and that home conditions were in many instances pitiable. Desertion and non-support were allowed to go unpunished. Physical needs were not properly investigated nor was insistence placed upon the physical examination and adherence to the recommended plan for restoration to health.

The report of the survey submitted to the commercial club included the following statements:

A study of the data secured relative to family conditions leads to some very definite conclusions which were substantiated by the experience of Ottumwa charity workers.

1. There has been considerable duplication.
2. Investigations have too often been superficial. The family's story has been taken at face value. Little effort has been made to get at the root cause of the family's condition.
3. As a result, relief has been too easily obtained.
4. There has been no systematic keeping of records. It is difficult to get definite information about the families. Sometimes only the name was learned. The overseer of the poor has a complete list of all families assisted and some data. Each society, of course, keeps an account of the expenditures. Few have gone farther than that.
5. Very little follow-up work has been done. Too often effort has ceased with the supplying of clothing, groceries, or coal. The possibility of making the family self-supporting and an active factor in the economic well-being of the city has been too often ignored.
6. The women seem to have been the ones to make the applications for relief, and children have been permitted to come asking for supplies.

This is a very serious condition. Children learn all too soon the lessons of poverty, and they easily develop into first-class beggars. On the other hand, if a man is able-bodied and not working, he should be the one to ask for assistance. The responsibility of the family is his, and he should be forced to assume it.

In addition to the recommendations for the creation of an Associated Charities with trained workers, recommendations were made for an educational campaign as to the prevention of tuberculosis, sanitary precautions, and care of tuberculosis patients.

The report gave the following summary :

The problem of Ottumwa is to reduce the number of families who are recipients of aid, to build up independent family life and to coördinate the charitable effort of the city. The spirit of the different agencies is expressed in their sincere desire to be of help to those in distress. The difficulty has been that too little attention has been given to the enforcing of family responsibility. Too little has been demanded of the family. Too little effort has been made to remove the fundamental causes of distress. Too little consideration has been given to the effect upon the family of the generous gifts bestowed. The easiest way for the giver is to give without question and for the recipient to take what is offered. Home conditions, personal characteristics, resources and possibilities must be studied in order to reach an intelligent conclusion as to cause, needs and remedy. If the money that is now being used for relief purposes could be used for the employment of trained service to dispense what is really needed, there is no question but that there would be a big saving in actual dollars.

One distinct service an Associated Charities would render would be the uncovering to the public of local social conditions that are productive of sickness and poverty. The daily visits to the homes of the poor, and intimate acquaintance with their stories and their problems, a first hand knowledge of their needs, would give a splendid basis for community action.¹⁰⁰

The Associated Charities of Wapello County was organized September 15, 1914. As a proof of the hold the movement had taken on the community, over \$4,000.00 of the \$5,000.00 budget was pledged before the office was opened. Soon after the new secretary took office, two of the district court judges issued an order making the secretary, official investigator of all widows' pension cases. March 1, 1915, the secretary was appointed overseer of the poor by the county board of supervisors. In Oc-

tober, 1915, the county agreed to pay one-half of the secretary's salary as overseer of the poor, and to pay one-half of overhead expenses to the amount of twenty-five dollars a month. This centralization brought private relief, county relief, and the investigation of widows' pensions under the central board. In addition, the Associated Charities of Wapello County acts as the clearing house for the entire community, has put into operation a joint registration bureau, looks after the welfare of the dependent, neglected and even delinquent children, has coöperated with the civic forces in "clean-up" and anti-tuberculosis campaigns, and is leading in an effort to improve home conditions. It has organized a house-keeping club, and is teaching food values, preparation of foods, and the purchasing of food. The following statement gives specific results of the first year's activity.

Figures can never measure all the results of a social service whose first object is human welfare. A "dollar and cents" interpretation is possible in a few instances: eight aged persons provided for and removed from the county books, saving \$630.00 per year; seven families provided for, preventing future dependents, saving approximately \$1800.00 per year; six families returned to self-support, saving \$640.00 a year; three families made partially self-supporting, saving \$250.00 per year.

On the grounds of sufficient income and the ability of relatives legally liable for support, the court has dismissed ten pensions and reduced three, saving \$1,742 per year or a total of \$12,429 until each child reached fourteen years of age;* six applications the court "denied on merit" saving \$900 a year; seven applications discouraged and helped in returning to self-support, saving \$1000 per year; fifty-two pensions current January 1, 1915; total \$178.25 a week; thirty-four pensions current October 1, 1916; total \$115.75 per week.

With the coöperation of the city administration and the police department, the number of blind and crippled beggars who ply their trade on crowded street corners, has been reduced. Investigation showed one worth \$6,000.00; another receiving regular relief from home county.†

To protect the housewife and business man, we urge refusal of aid, except in exchange for work and the sending of persons to the office where we give work at the rate of fifteen cents an hour for a fifteen to thirty cent meal. Three hundred and thirty-seven men have come and have worked for 404 meals at a cost of \$68.00. Sick men were helped without work. We are now working on a plan of coöperation enforcing the new

*Before the law changed the age limit to sixteen years.

†In 1917 the legislature passed a law giving cities and towns power by ordinance to suppress, restrain, and prohibit begging in and on the streets and other public places and to provide punishment for the violation of such ordinance.

vagrancy ordinance, requiring every able-bodied man to work for meals and lodging.

Ten families have been "passed on" to Wapello County. This practice is inhuman. We refuse transportation except after we receive word from reliable persons at the destination assuring care, then we provide a ticket clear through.

The whole field of juvenile work has been touched only by the board of education. Children needing the protection of the juvenile court and parents needing its discipline, are being referred to us. We are doing the work of a court officer in gathering evidence, filing petitions and in many instances serving summons and subpoenas.

The board of supervisors, township trustees, district court and private citizens in the county, refer for investigation and conference conditions in any part of the county. We are working on a plan for a county-wide study of health and living conditions, and have organized friendly visiting in some of the villages.

In our "Combination Program" county funds provide for general relief and charity funds for personal social service and special needs which cannot be met by the public money.¹⁰⁷

BURLINGTON

In Burlington the local charity organization passed out of existence in September, 1914, but during the winter months the city was forced to recognize its loss and set about securing central organization. The commercial exchange took the initiative. All of the other social agencies were interested. A survey was made under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Welfare of the State University, the data for which were gathered largely by local volunteer workers.¹⁰⁸ As a result the Social Service League was formed with representatives from all federated societies. All the organizations agreed to discontinue relief and to turn all applications over to the Social Service League. The Burlington Relief Society and the Visiting Nurse Association disbanded and were merged in the League; a central registration bureau, with confidential file, was established, and in the one office are housed the general secretary, who is also truant officer, the visiting nurse, the school nurse and the county relief agent, or overseer of the poor. In Burlington the county relief is not handled by the secretary of the Social Service League, so that Burlington does not represent as complete a combination plan as Wa-

terloo or Grinnell, but it illustrates a high degree of coöperation on the part of various private charities, which it is hoped may lead eventually to a definite combination plan.

FORT DODGE

In January, 1915, the combination plan was made effective in Fort Dodge through the appointment of the secretary of the Associated Charities as overseer of the poor. From January to October, 1915, twelve families, who during the preceding year received a total of \$1,646.20, because of different arrangements now received only \$429.64. As these arrangements were practically forced by the trained social worker, a saving of \$1,218.56 was made here. Investigations have been made in surrounding towns for some of the supervisors; trustees have sent some of their charges to the secretary for various services.¹⁰⁹ The secretary is also truant officer.

CEDAR RAPIDS

The combination plan was adopted in Cedar Rapids after a survey made by the Bureau of Social Welfare of the Extension Division of the University in February, 1916. From September, 1915, to February, 1916, a period of five months, 595 families had been given aid, and not less than \$30,000.00 had been expended by all agencies, public and private, for the relief of families in their homes. The county board of supervisors, the commercial club and the Sunshine mission, the largest private relief-giving agency, were responsible for the survey, and interested in a plan for federating all the poor relief activity of Cedar Rapids. The report of the survey included the following statements and recommendations:

The problem in Cedar Rapids is to coördinate the poor relief of the city, and to reduce the number of families who are recipients of aid, by restoring as many as possible to self-support.

In every city there are many men and women who wish to do what they can to assist those who are unfortunate. They wish to be truly helpful, but the difficulty is that they do not always know what to do or how aid should be given. This volunteer service is one of the splendid resources of Cedar Rapids which has scarcely been touched.

On the basis of conditions found the Bureau of Social Welfare would respectfully recommend: (1) the creation of a central agency to be called the Social Welfare Board or Social Service League, under the direction of a board of business men and women representative of the various interests in Cedar Rapids; (2) the employment of a trained charity worker as secretary of this central agency with sufficient helpers to make the plan effective; (3) the employment of a visiting nurse for the education and care of the sick in their homes; (4) the installation of a complete and up-to-date filing system for case records; (5) the establishment of a confidential exchange in which may be registered confidentially the names of all families and individuals receiving aid from societies, churches, public officials, or individuals; (6) the turning over of its charity work among families by the Sunshine mission to the central office; (7) the development of a central employment agency at the Sunshine mission; (8) the addition to the elected board of the central agency of the county board of supervisors as members ex-officio and the handling of the county relief work through the central office; (9) the adoption by business men of a policy of making the registration at the central office of all cases, a condition of endorsement of any society and of referring all those applying for aid to the central office.¹¹⁰

A committee was appointed to investigate the details of the plan and to report at another meeting to be held a week later. This committee after conferring with the board of supervisors and the commercial club, recommended in detail the combination plan suggested in the original report. Their recommendation was accepted and the board of directors of the Social Welfare League elected. This board then organized, chose its officers, and employed a trained worker who is now carrying on the work of the League and acting as overseer of the poor.

The combination plan went into effect August 1, 1916. From August 1, 1916 to August 1, 1917, the amount of poor relief expended from county funds was reduced from 60 to 70 per cent, and the supervisors who had been paying \$65.00 a month on the \$100.00 salary of the worker, assumed the entire salary and raised it to \$125.00 a month.¹¹¹

The combination plan is thus seen to be in force in six Iowa cities: Grinnell, Oskaloosa, Waterloo, Ottumwa, Fort Dodge, and Cedar Rapids. This plan prevents a waste and insures efficiency. It means that to a degree seldom before attained, each dollar will be placed where it will do the most good. While it

is true that the first year the plan was in operation in Grinnell, forty per cent of the previous year's expenditure was saved, and better results were obtained, a record of a small amount of money expended for relief does not necessarily spell efficiency of administration. The refusal of aid because there is an able-bodied man in the family, or because it is thought that the family had been aided once and should be able to manage, is not sufficient. Inquiry should be made to learn why the application is made, in order to aid the family intelligently. Aid should be adequate to insure normal living. If through inadequate aid families must live below the normal standard, the almost inevitable result is a breaking down of health, of family life, and of moral standards; the family may be forced to beg and may eventually drift into chronic pauperism. A large number of families continually soliciting alms and making little or no effort to take care of themselves is a big drain upon any city's resources, and involves a condition which should be prevented. A plan of treatment that provides for actual needs, but which also includes an effort to learn the cause and to remove it, is to be advocated. It is to the interest of every citizen of the community that destitution and distress should be relieved and that an effort be made to help needy fellow-citizens to become self-supporting and productive factors in community life. Some people need relief at certain times who object to receiving aid from the county. For the care of these people private relief funds should always be provided. It has been proved that private relief agencies and county officials can adopt a definite plan of coöperation on an economical as well as a highly efficient basis.

The "Iowa Plan" of combining all social forces under a central board of citizens, with the county officials members *ex-officiis*, can be adjusted to meet the needs of any locality, whether city, town, or rural district, through intelligent coöperation of public and private agencies. The entire plan need not be adopted at once, but may be inaugurated as a privately supported society eventually assuming the duties of public officials, as was done at Ottumwa. The plan insures protection of dependent and delinquent children, makes possible the rehabili-

tation of dependent families, and protects the tax-payers through its efficient conserving of funds.

The great service, however, which the "combination scheme" renders to Iowa towns is constructive work with the families. This is the reason for combining in the person of the trained charity worker the offices of overseer of the poor and the secretary of the social service league, public welfare association, or associated charities. It gives to the worker an official position, which makes possible the harmonizing of the many divergent interests of the community, opens the way for investigation of widows' pension cases, retains the advantage of having a fund raised by private contributions for use of those special emergency cases which it is not desired to make county charges, and creates a board of private citizens, serving without pay and directing the policy of social work in the community, and in large measure removing it from any political domination.

It must be kept in mind that the members of the county board of supervisors are members *ex-officio* of this board, and that the scheme is coöperative. County and private funds are kept separate, as are the records of families aided by each. The secretary, as overseer of the poor, is directly responsible to the board of supervisors for the expenditure of county funds, and regularly submits a formal report to them in addition to the report submitted to the entire board for the conduct of all of the activities of the office.

VIII

A STATE PROGRAM

This analysis of the administrative machinery for the relief of the poor in Iowa has shown the definite provisions made by legislation; has outlined the application of the law in Polk County; has summed up the cost of charity to the state and pointed out the variations and difficulties of administration. To meet these problems, a number of cities have adopted a combination of public and private relief in the hands of a trained executive, which, while it has been successful to an unusual degree, has certain dangers which should be recognized.

(1) Such a system has within it the possibility of becoming autocratic. The very fact of its strength in dominating the situation and in controlling both public and private relief may result in the assumption of a dictatorial policy.

(2) For the same reason, and corollary to the above, the work may become mechanical.

(3) The saving of money may become the leading item in the administrative policy regardless of results.

(4) Because of the fact that the worker has enlarged powers and that there is little check through other competing or coöperative charitable agencies, workers may assume too much responsibility and so fail to keep either the board of supervisors or the board of the Social Welfare League generally informed. This tends to lessen the sense of responsibility on the part of the boards with a resultant slackening of interest and spontaneous support.

(5) The success of the combination plan depends largely upon the personality of the worker and the right person is not always easy to secure. This is true, of course, in all lines of social work, but especially so here because of the need for nice adjustments and the avoidance of misunderstandings. On the

other hand, the field is one of promise and makes a strong appeal to young women eager to develop a social situation, untrammelled by precedents or hard and fast lines of conventional administration.

While these dangers exist, they are more than counterbalanced by the actual advantages accruing as a result of the plan from the purely administrative side.

(1) Instead of untrained administrators, the combination plan makes possible the employment of trained charity workers.

(2) It results in the installation of modern business methods of keeping records.

(3) It brings into operation more adequate investigations which are meant to show not only whether the need really exists, but also the cause for the need. Then forces may be set at work to remove the cause and to rehabilitate the needy.

(4) It has been shown how the coördination of all the social activity of the community was effected under the combination plan. For example, in Grinnell, the Social Service League has had many demands made upon it for various kinds of community service—garden club contests, clean-up day campaigns, a peace pageant, the promotion of playground supervision and campaigns. In addition to her regular work as secretary of the Social Service League and overseer of the poor, the trained worker at Grinnell is school attendance officer, volunteer probation officer, and investigator of widows' pension cases.

(5) The fact that relief administration is centralized and that the workers in this central office have at their finger's ends the social conditions of the community gives a scientific basis for the initiation of other needed social movements. In Ottumwa a dental clinic has been opened and an anti-tuberculosis campaign inaugurated. Oskaloosa and Cedar Rapids have been successful in securing a visiting nurse.

(6) Another specific result is a better carrying out of the law through intelligent coöperation of the various agents of the law. Two examples may be cited: (a) The law providing for widows' pensions does not prescribe any definite accounting of the money received. In several of the towns where the combination plan is in operation, widows receiving pensions are required to keep accurate account of all money received and expended. This

gives the social worker an opportunity to advise about expenditures and to keep a check on the need for the pension. (b) The law providing for pensions for the blind does not prescribe any investigation of the applicant's needs so that aid can be adjusted to meet them. The clerk receives the necessary affidavits, including the physician's report and the statement of applicant and witnesses and transmits the same to the board of supervisors. In Ottumwa, in February, 1916, the board of supervisors, county attorney, and overseer of the poor had a conference to consider the administration of the law. Decisions reached were "that the supervisors were empowered to use their discretion in granting a pension," exploding the idea that a person would be "entitled" to it because he met the requirements of the law. They refer all applications to the overseer for investigation and report, and any pension granted by them will be handled through the poor relief department by the overseer, requiring the same keeping of account as is required for all cash orders issued. They will refer to the regular relief department, persons who are not able to handle their own business and will refuse the pension, which if granted, must be one hundred and fifty dollars a year unless the person is capable of working. This point was emphasized by the supervisors who had already been approached by unscrupulous persons asking the privilege of handling the money for the prospective pensioners.¹¹²

(7) The combination plan has resulted in extending the doctrine of efficient charity over the county. Secretaries are frequently asked to make investigations for the township trustees, and the secretary of Ottumwa has organized volunteer groups in the small towns of the county to carry on as best they can, constructive work among the needy poor families.

(8) This plan is demonstrating that public relief can be efficiently handled and can be made elastic enough to cover the unusual cases and to adjust the relief to the individual needs.

(9) It has tended to discard the words "pauper" and "charity" and to substitute the idea of community service, social service, or social welfare.

(10) Perhaps one of the greatest gains which has been made under this plan is that the juvenile court and truancy work may be handled by a trained worker. This means a great deal, espe-

cially to the small town which does not come within the scope of the law providing for regularly paid probation officers.

Repeatedly the question is asked what steps are necessary for the introduction of the combination plan. The community, as a whole, must be aroused to the need for adequate provision for the care of the needy poor, and the movement should be promoted not by a single group but by all the different groups engaged in social service activity.

In any event the interest of the board of supervisors and of the business men must be enlisted. The county fund is ordinarily the largest relief fund, and business men supply the funds for private charity, so that these two forces are the points of greatest strategic importance. Business men are personally interested because the town is their home and therefore they have the city's well-being at heart. They realize that from a purely commercial view-point good social conditions are an advertising asset, and that in the end the community, especially the business men, pays the bills for bad housing, for epidemics growing out of improper sanitation, for neglect of moral protection of boys and girls, men and women, and for a large dependent population.

In order to arouse public sentiment and to secure data showing need for combination, a local study should be made, or in other words a social survey of the town should be undertaken. No social program can be worked out theoretically, and arbitrarily, and then be superimposed upon a waiting people. Such a course would be completely ineffective and would result only in failure. A program should be flexible, so as to meet new conditions as they arise. Furthermore, it should not be so complex that citizens are confused and discouraged. It should acquaint the people with the larger possibilities of social activity, and should indicate the relation of the immediate social effort to future development. The survey brings vividly to the minds of people their own home city, its needs and its resources, and helps to organize them into an effective whole.

The combination plan as proposed, should make use of resources already organized and combine related social activities. Some cities have paid probation officers, and in these communities no attempt should be made to combine juvenile court work

and that of the poor relief. However, the overseer should work in close coöperation with the probation officers.

Dr. G. Hardy Clark, formerly of Waterloo, suggested that a law be passed giving the board of supervisors authority to appoint a county social welfare board of twelve members to serve six years without pay. An outline of his proposal follows:

1. This board (a) to be appointed by the county board of supervisors; (b) to consist of twelve members; (c) to be selected to represent the cities, towns and country districts in proportion to population; (d) its members to serve not less than six years.
2. The board to employ (a) county overseer of the poor who will act as secretary and executive officer of the board; (b) nurses for county institutions, public schools, city, town and county inspection, and for the general purposes of visiting nurses.
3. The board to employ medical attendants for the poor farm, detention hospital, tuberculosis hospital, jail, and other purposes.
4. The board to expend or distribute all funds and supplies contributed by the public for relief work in the cities, towns, and rural districts.
5. The board to supervise and control the care and disposition of all deserted, orphaned and illegitimate children born or resident in the county.
6. The board to maintain a juvenile morals committee under and by the authority of the juvenile court.
7. The supervisors to make provision for needed expenditures of the board including transportation and committee work.
8. The board to file annually with some central agency (state) a statement of its expenditures and of the moral, sanitary and provident conditions of the inhabitants of the county, together with recommendations looking to improvement of these conditions.¹¹³

Professor John L. Gillin has also advocated a county board of charities for Iowa to improve the administration of out-door relief, in a manner similar to the plan of Indiana, which includes a county board for this purpose, the members serving without pay; which fixes responsibility upon the overseer of the poor of the township to levy a tax in the township for the amount expended for outdoor relief for the preceding year; and which makes mandatory the filing of reports by the overseer of the poor every three months, one copy with the county supervisors, one with the state board of charities, and one with the county board of charities. Professor Gillin recommends that the Iowa State Board of Control prescribe rules for the overseers of the poor, and that the county board of charities should be author-

ized to appoint an overseer of the poor, if the supervisors do not appoint one after the supervisors have discharged the overseer in authority. Professor Gillin states that in his opinion the "center of difficulties" is the overseer of the poor.¹¹⁴

The legislature of Indiana codified the poor laws in 1901. Indiana is proud of her plan for out-door relief. "The poor relief laws as now in force proved the means of checking the accounts of the overseers of the poor. They also supply what is of greater importance, an opportunity of studying the state's problem of poverty as well as the method of giving relief in such a way as least to encourage dependence." The operation of this law has reduced the expenditure of county poor relief from \$560,012 in 1891 to \$279,967 in 1909.¹¹⁵

In the state of Massachusetts the pauper department of each town or city is required to make an annual report to the State Board of Charities. This includes a report for every family aided. The law also prescribes that the master of every almshouse must keep a register of all persons received and file with the State Board of Charities a complete record.

In Ohio effort has been made to secure the passage of a law providing for boards of public welfare. The promoters of the law were unable to secure its consideration by the legislature of 1917 because of early adjournment.¹¹⁶

The state of North Carolina passed an act establishing a State Board of Charities and Corrections at the regular session of the General Assembly in 1915. This act provided for local committees, which are to be composed of three persons, one of whom must be a member of the local board of health and one a woman. Their duties include visitation, inspection and report on jails and almshouses in their respective counties or cities, and advice and help to local charities in maintaining such institutions in the most efficient manner. The law also required that the state board shall collect, compile, and publish statistics regarding dependent and delinquent persons both in and out of institutions within the state.¹¹⁷

The legislature of Minnesota passed a law during the assembly of 1916-17 providing for County Child Welfare Boards. The State Board of Control upon request may appoint three persons in each county, at least two of whom shall be women. These

persons shall serve without compensation and, together with a member of the county board and the county superintendent of schools, shall constitute the Child Welfare Board of the county. In counties where no Child Welfare Board exists, the judge of the juvenile court may appoint a local agent to coöperate with the State Board of Control.¹¹⁸

In Missouri a bill was introduced in the legislature in 1917, providing for the creation of county boards of public welfare. The members of these boards, who were to serve without pay, were to be the three judges of the county court (who are the county administrative officers), the county supervisor of schools, and the county judges hearing children's cases. The board was to appoint the county superintendent of public welfare and assistants. Only those holding certificates as "qualified social workers" would be eligible. Certificates were to be granted by the State Board of Charities after competitive examination. The State Board of Charities was to be given supervisory power to make the plan adaptable to small towns or cities in the county in the following manner. The law provided that towns and cities might be represented on the county board of public welfare and might contribute funds to its work. This city-county board as proposed is similar to the plan in St. Joseph. The county board of public welfare would have charge of probation service, would administer mothers' pensions, would supervise private agencies caring for children and would institute modern methods in charity work. The law failed to pass.¹¹⁹

Kansas City, Missouri, has had a board of public welfare since 1909. The method of handling charities is somewhat unusual. The private relief society is called the Provident Association. According to the report of 1912, the Provident Association made all investigations of applicants for relief. By virtue of this service rendered for the board of public welfare, the city paid the salary of ten social workers who were under the direction of the superintendent of the association. This agreement went into force July 1, 1910. Besides the ten workers paid by the city, the Provident Association paid the salaries of three other workers. The cost of relief, street-car fares, supervision, and all other expenses was met by the Provident Association. The Kansas City board of public welfare also con-

ducted a research bureau, managed vacant lot gardening, provided for the homeless and unemployed, conducted a welfare loan agency and legal aid bureau, provided for recreation, looked after paroled men and women, and conducted a woman's reformatory and a municipal farm.¹²⁰

For St. Joseph, Missouri, "the entire work of the city is handled by a social welfare board created by law in 1913. The purposes of the law were to centralize all charitable work carried on by public funds in one board and to reduce and prevent poverty by constructive methods as opposed to the former temporary relief system." The welfare board expends all money appropriated from public sources for charitable work. It cares for all the poor in the city of St. Joseph with the exception of persons suffering from infectious, contagious, or communicable diseases. The board consists of eight members, the presiding judge of the county court, the mayor, and six appointed members. These members are appointed yearly to serve for a term of three years. Each year two members are appointed, one by the county court and one by the mayor. All members of the board serve without pay. In addition to the care of the poor of the city the following departments of work are included: legal aid, employment bureau, wood yard, municipal farms, research bureau, volunteer service department, recreation department maintaining playgrounds, burial department, home medical service, dispensary, obstetric and visiting nurse, and hospital service.¹²¹

New York does not have county welfare boards, but the law provides that widows' pensions shall be administered by a board of child welfare. The board of child welfare makes investigations and recommends to the board of supervisors that a certain appropriation be given them to care for widowed mothers. A variation of administration is to be found in Westchester county, where Mr. V. Everett Macy, as superintendent of the poor, has revolutionized the administration of his office. Among other things, because of the work of his agents in investigating cases of children for whose admission to children's homes applications had been made, he discovered the need for keeping children in their own home, and in order to carry out this policy secured from the board of supervisors an appropriation of

\$6,000. When the board of child welfare was appointed, it discovered that Mr. Macy, as superintendent of the poor, had already been taking care of the mothers who would have been pensioners of the board of child welfare. This has obviated the necessity for a special board to deal with the problem.¹²²

Three combination plans actually operated in three different cities may be noted in this connection. Akron, Ohio, has a population of 69,067. The secretary of the Charity Organization Society is director of the department of public charities. The funds for general relief are provided by the city appropriation. The society is responsible for the development of work along constructive lines. The exact division of expenses in 1914 was as follows: The city provided a fund for actual relief of resident families in need which was drawn upon by the Charity Organization Society. The city paid the salaries of one assistant in the Charity Organization Society, of a city physician, of two nurses and one-third of the salary of the general secretary of the Charity Organization Society. The Charity Organization Society paid the salary of two other visitors and a stenographer. Complete financial reports were made both to the directors of the Charity Organization Society and to the city. No public money passes through the hands of the director of public charities who is, also, general secretary of the Charity Organization Society. Bills to be paid from the public fund are paid by the city treasurer after audit by the city auditor.¹²³

In Henderson, Kentucky, the name of the Associated Charities has been changed to Public Welfare Association. All pauper funds are administered through this agency, except the small amount used for pauper burials. In caring for cases of need, orders are given by the secretary of the Public Welfare Association, and are referred at the end of the month to the pauper committee of the city council, which committee approves the bills. In the relief paid for by the city are included groceries, medicine, shoes, necessary clothing, temporary board and any other necessary expenses.¹²⁴

Owensboro, Kentucky, also has a combination plan in operation. Before this arrangement was inaugurated, the mayor of the city gave relief. After the organization of the Associated Charities the council transferred the administration of all city

relief to the Associated Charities. The city appropriated \$2,000 for relief and \$500 for administrative expenses. These amounts are not appropriated directly to the Associated Charities, but after the month's bills are approved by the secretary, the chairman of the joint committee of the Associated Charities, and the council, they are given to the city clerk, who pays them from the city's treasury, and who also gives a monthly check for the administrative expenses. The council has also signified its intention to pay any amount necessary in excess of the \$2,000 allowed. The mayor sends all applicants to the office of the Associated Charities. Transients and hospital cases, to be admitted as charity patients, are also to be referred for investigation, unless the hospital case should be an emergency one.

In addition to the city of Owensboro, two districts of the county are in charge of the Associated Charities. The county makes no appropriation except for administrative expenses, but all monthly bills, after being approved by the Associated Charities, are presented at the monthly meeting of the county board which is composed of the magistrates of the various county districts. After the bills are approved by them a check is given covering the full amount of bills incurred during the month. This is deposited in the treasury of the Associated Charities and individual checks are written for the creditors. The administrative expense allowed by the county for this service is \$40 a month. In addition to her work as relief administrator the secretary of the Associated Charities acts as juvenile court probation officer, and with the aid of the recreation committee of the association, supervised some playground work during the summer of 1916.¹²⁵

THE IOWA SITUATION

There are a few specific changes in the law for which the state is ready and which would help promote wider interest in social needs and also would give the different communities greater freedom in taking care of local needs. Iowa poor laws should be codified and obsolete sections should be revised to accord with modern conditions. For example, the provision limiting relief to the amount of two dollars per week for each person,

exclusive of medical attendance, should be amended. The law should be changed so that children may not be kept at the county home. The functions of overseer of the poor should be removed from township trustees,¹²⁸ and the county board of supervisors should be given authority to appoint an overseer of the poor for the entire county with as many assistants as necessary. This would make possible the employment of trained workers in counties of less than 10,000 population.

A new law should provide for the appointment by the State Board of Control of a State Commissioner of Charities, who may require uniform reports of county relief from each county overseer of the poor. This Charities Commissioner should also have authority to standardize records and to establish certain methods of work to promote efficiency of administration. Eventually, perhaps, this law might be extended, and a State Charities Commission be authorized to have supervisory power and authority to compel standardization of work in children's homes and child-placing agencies, almshouses, and all out-door relief departments.¹²⁹

A state-wide survey should be made to show the exact social conditions of Iowa. This would help to arouse public opinion to support changes in the present law, and would give a basis for more progressive measures than it is now possible to advocate, such as a state law providing for county welfare boards. This is all the more important inasmuch as the general agitation for improved poor relief administration is only about ten years old, and has borne definite results only within the past five or six years.

In all the efforts to improve the efficiency of relief on the more or less mechanical side of administration, the need for intelligent, sympathetic appreciation of the struggles of the needy poor must not be forgotten. Human kindness must always accompany the purely scientific administration of relief. The charity worker must be able to recognize the good to be found in every applicant seeking assistance, and must be cognizant that the need for material relief is only one of the needs of those who are unable to maintain themselves; that the greatest need is the opportunity for self-support.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. State census, 1915, p. XV.
2. State census, 1915, p. XVI.
3. State census, 1915, pp. 606-607.
4. According to the Iowa census the urban population includes all people living in the 893 incorporated places. There are three classes of these; cities of the first class, having 15,000 or more population; cities of the second class, with 2,000 population or less than 15,000; towns, which have less than 2,000. The United States Census Bureau classifies as urban, all incorporated towns of 2,500 or over.
5. State census, 1915, p. XXIX.
6. State census, 1915, p. 593.
7. Code of Iowa, p. 779; Supplement (1913) p. 848.
8. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2252 (1897).
9. Code of Iowa, Sect., 2216 (1897).
10. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2217 (1897).
11. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2218 (1897).
This law has been successfully used in Polk County in a number of cases.
12. In the code, the word settlement, is used instead of the word residence. Settlement is the technical word used in connection with the determination of eligibility for relief. In this paper the word residence is used in place of settlement.
13. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-1 (1897).
14. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-2 (1897).
15. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-3 (1897).
16. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-4 (1897).
17. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-5 (1897).
18. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-6 (1897).
19. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2224-7 (1897).
20. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2225 (1897).
21. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2226 (1897).
22. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2227 (1897).
23. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2228 (1897).
24. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2229 (1897).
25. Code of Iowa, Sect. 422, Supplement (1913).
Sect. 2232 (1897).
26. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2247, Supplement (1913).
27. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2234, Supplement (1913).
28. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2237, (1897).

29. The General Assembly (1917) passed a law to amend Sect. 2230 of the Supplement to the Code (1913) relating to compensation for labor by the poor. The law had stated the rate as five cents per hour. The amendment provides payment "at the prevailing local rate per hour."
30. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2230, Supplement (1913).
31. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2236 (1897).
32. Code of Iowa, Sect. 254-a20, Supplement (1913).
33. Code of Iowa, Sect. 254-a14, Supplement (1913). The law as given in the Supplement of the Code (1913) states that the allowance granted shall cease when the child reaches the age of fourteen years. The General Assembly of 1917 extended it to sixteen years.
34. Code of Iowa, Sect. 254-a20a, Supplement (1913).
35. Code of Iowa, Sect. 430, Supplemental Supplement. Acts of the General Assembly, 1915.
36. Code of Iowa, Sect. 434-a, Supplemental Supplement. Acts of the General Assembly, 1915.
37. Code of Iowa, Sect. 431 (1897).
38. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2722-j, 2722-k, 2722-l, 2722-n, Chapter 10-A Of County Aid for the Blind, Supplemental Supplement, Acts of the General Assembly, 1915.
39. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2292, Supplement (1913); Sect. 254-b Supplemental Supplement (1915).
40. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2241, Supplemental Supplement, Acts of the General Assembly, 1915.
41. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2243, Supplement (1913).
42. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2244, Supplement (1913).
43. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2245, Supplement (1913).
44. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2244, Supplement (1913).
45. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2249, Supplement (1913).
46. Code of Iowa, Sect. 733, (1897).
47. Code of Iowa, Sect. 957, (1897).
48. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2292, Supplement (1913).
49. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2308-a Supplement (1913).
50. Letter from F. S. Treat, secretary of the State Board of Control, May 18, 1917; Code of Iowa, Sect. 2726, Supplement (1913) and Sect. 2697 (1897).
51. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2718a, Supplement (1913); Code of Iowa, Sect. 2716 (1897).
52. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2715, Supplement (1913).
53. Census of Iowa, 1915, p. 687.
54. Study made by the Associated Charities of Des Moines, Iowa. Letter from H. S. Hollingsworth, general secretary, May 24, 1917.
55. See Polk County Financial Report, 1915, p. 40.
56. See Polk County Financial Report, 1915, p. 40.
57. From the records of the Associated Charities, Des Moines, Iowa.

58. From the records of the Associated charities, Des Moines, Iowa.
59. Mr. A. C. Fisher, a member of the board of supervisors, Polk County, Iowa, explained that it is difficult for the county to do road work in the winter months when demand for employment in this connection is greatest.
60. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2230, Supplement (1913).
61. In Sioux City, Iowa, the city and county coöperated in giving employment to the unemployed, preference being given to resident family men. "The arrangement was to the effect that the county would furnish the married men with four hours a day work and the city would furnish the single men with four hours a day work. The amount paid was twenty-five cents an hour." (Letter from H. L. Houghton, probation officer, Sioux City.)
62. Code of Iowa, Sect 5142 (1897) reads: "no sheriff or jailer shall receive and no board of supervisors allow, any compensation for keeping or boarding any tramp in the jail or other place in the county, unless such tramp has been duly arrested or committed under the provisions of this chapter except the board of supervisors of each county may furnish one night's lodging for apparently deserving persons, and those who are sick or disabled may be cared for as the necessities of the case demand."
63. Letter from Mr. G. B. Sheets, overseer of the poor, Des Moines, Iowa, August 1, 1905.
64. Russell Sage Foundation blanks now used.
65. Information given summer 1915 by A. C. Fisher, member of the board of supervisors, Polk County.
66. See Polk County Financial Report, 1915, p. 43.
67. From the records of the Des Moines Associated Charities.
68. Code of Iowa. Sect. 4775-a (1913).
69. Code of Iowa, Sects. 254-a31; 254-a32; 254-a33; 254-a34; 254-a35; 254-a36; 254-a37; 254-a38; 254-a39; 254-a40, Supplement (1913).
70. A letter from H. S. Hollingsworth, general secretary of the Associated Charities of Des Moines, May 24, 1917.
71. Rules of the Social Service Registration Bureau, Des Moines.
72. Information obtained 1915 from Miss Jane Shirley, overseer of the poor, Des Moines, Iowa.
73. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2727a64, Supplement (1913).
74. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part II, p. 49.
75. The net cost of the county homes is determined by subtracting from the gross cost, the income received from the sale of farm produce and money received for care of inmates.
76. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part II, p. 61.
This includes items as follows; salary of overseer, provisions, clothing, fuel, medical aid, nurses and hospital, quarantine, burial expense, rent, transportation, dependent children, cash allowances, miscellaneous.

77. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part II, p. 41.
78. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part II, p. 75.
79. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part I, p. 10.
80. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part I, p. 10.
81. State Auditor's report, 1916, Part I, p. 10.
82. State Board of Control report, 1916, pp. 60, 296.
83. A questionnaire was sent out by the writer as worker in charge of the Bureau of Social Welfare, Extension Division, State University of Iowa.
84. Davenport, review of county work prepared by writer, Bureau of Social Welfare, Extension Division, State University of Iowa.
85. See printed financial report of Dubuque County for example.
86. Sioux City Survey made by writer, Bureau of Social Welfare, Extension Division, State University of Iowa. Report filed in Extension Division.
87. Polk County.
88. Pottawattamie County.
89. Poweshiek County and many others. This is the usual method.
90. Davenport survey made by writer, Bureau of Social Welfare, Extension Division, State University of Iowa, for the Commercial Club of Davenport.
91. After the survey made in Davenport, the Commercial Club of Davenport, through one of its secretaries, consulted with the Scott County board of supervisors about conditions as found. The granting of widows' pensions has since been taken out of the hands of the supervisors, and pensions are granted direct by the judge of the district court. (Letter from Irving C. Norwood, secretary, Davenport Commercial Club, May 29, 1917).
92. Sioux City and Des Moines.
93. Woodbury County.
94. From the report of the survey made by writer for the Poweshiek county board of supervisors, 1912.
95. Report of the Social Service League of Grinnell for 1913.
96. Annual report of the Social Service League, Grinnell, Iowa, November, 1913-1914.
97. Statement of I. H. Saunders, chairman of the board of supervisors, Poweshiek County, printed in the yearly report of the Social Service League, Grinnell, 1913-1914.
98. Report of the Social Service League, Grinnell, 1913-1914.
99. Statement of I. H. Saunders, chairman of the board of supervisors, Poweshiek County.
100. Oskaloosa Social Service League, annual report, March, 1915.
101. Oskaloosa Social Service League, annual report, March, 1915.
102. Statement of Dr. G. Hardy Clark, Waterloo, Iowa.
103. Statement of Dr. G. Hardy Clark, Waterloo, Iowa.

104. Proceedings of the Iowa State Conferenece of Charities and Correc-tions, 1914, pp. 40, 41.
105. The speaker was the writer, at that time assistant secretary Asso-ciated Charities, Des Moines, Iowa.
106. Report of the survey made by the Bureau of Social Welfare, Exten-sion Division, State University of Iowa.
107. First Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Ottumwa, 1916.
108. Report filed in Extension Division, State University of Iowa.
109. Report of Miss Mabel Tibbott, secretary of the Associated Charities and overseer of the poor, Fort Dodge, Iowa.
110. Report of the survey made by the Bureau of Social Welfare of the Extension Division, State University of Iowa. The county board of supervisors paid the expenses of the survey.
111. Letter from Miss Katherine Ewing, general secretary of the Social Welfare League and overseer of the poor of Cedar Rapids, 1917.
112. From a letter from Sara A. Brown, overseer of the poor and general secretary of the Associated Charities, Ottumwa.
113. From a letter from Dr. G. Hardy Clark, Waterloo, Iowa.
114. Gillin's *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, pp. 332, 333.
115. Butler's *A Century of Progress*, p. 146.
116. Letter from J. M. Hanson, secretary Charity Organization Society, Youngstown, Ohio, May 22, 1917.
117. Quarterly Bulletin, State Board of Charities and Correectons of South Carolina, June, 1915.
118. Letter from Professor A. J. Todd, University of Minnesota, June 25, 1917.
119. The Survey, December 30, 1916, p. 356; The Survey, February 5, 1917, p. 530. Letter from Geo. B. Mangold, director of the school of Civics, St. Louis, May 21, 1917.
120. Report of the Public Welfare Board, Kansas City, Mo., 1916.
121. Report of the Social Welfare Board, St. Joseph, Mo., 1916.
122. The Survey, November 4, 1916, p. 102.
123. Letter from Wm. S. Bixby, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society, Akron, Ohio, 1914.
124. Letter from Miss Lauretta K. Hawley, secretary, Public Welfare As-sociation, Henderson, Ky., May 28, 1917.
125. Letter from Miss Ethel I. McLane, secretary Associated Charities, Owensboro, Ky., May 28, 1917.
126. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2230, Supplement, (1913).
127. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2249, Supplement (1913).
128. Code of Iowa, Sect. 2232, (1897).
129. The use of the term "pauper" should be eliminated from the statutes and from all official documents and reports to conform with modern terminology. There is a precedent for such a change in the act of the legislature in 1909, which substituted "county home" for "county poor farm."



